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Notes Exchanged With Belgium on INF Inspection

LD191815 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1747 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Brussels, 19 Feb (TASS)—Belgian Foreign Minister L. Tindemans and USSR Ambassador to Belgium F.P. Bogdanov today exchanged notes here, by which an accord was formulated between the Governments of the USSR and Belgium regarding inspections on Belgian territory in line with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the protocol on inspections attached to it.

This accord, which is subject to approval by the Belgian Parliament, goes into force at the same time as the treaty, and will run for 13 years from that date.

Speaking at the note exchange ceremony, L. Tindemans said in part: "The signing on 8 December 1987 of the treaty was met with very great satisfaction in Belgium and by me, personally. For the first time in history appropriate verification measures can be carried out on site." All this has, in the words of the minister, been achieved "thanks to the constructive stance of the Soviet Union." "Belgium wants a rapid ratification of the treaty so that the process of dismantling the missiles may begin without delay."

As L. Tindemans pointed out, the INF Treaty "is not merely a treaty between the two superpowers but it is also an agreement between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. It is important not just in itself but particularly within the context of East-West relations. It represents a substantial stage and enables us to hope that it will open the way to substantial progress as a whole at the arms control talks. The Belgian Government will work in favor of a 50-percent reduction in the strategic nuclear arms of the United States and the USSR, a universal, total ban on chemical weapons, and beginning talks on securing stability in conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe.

Preparatory Commission Debates INF Treaty

LD200424 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2105 GMT 19 Feb 88

["Report on a Session of the Preparatory Commission, the Working Body of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet" special program]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was discussed at a session in the Kremlin today. The majority of Soviet people are in favor of ratification of the treaty; but letters are also coming in, which, in addition to support for the treaty, express some concern and request explanations of some issues related to it. [video shows a meeting room where the commission members are seated on both sides of a long table, with Georgiy Markovich Korniyenko, chairman of the Preparatory Commission, at the head of the table. Immediately to Kornyenko's left is Sergey Fedorovich Akhromeyev, marshal of the Soviet Union and chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, then Medvedev, an unidentified man, and Yu. M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs. About 12 other unidentified people are seated in two's and three's along one side of the main table. Akhromeyev uses a wall chart to illustrate his points]

[Begin recording] [Korniyenko] Does the treaty correspond fully with the interests of the security of our state, bearing in mind that the USSR is destroying a larger number of missiles than the United States and that there is alarm that the USSR has agreed not to take the British and French missiles into account. I would like, in addition to what has already been said and written, to hear some additional explanations, if there are any.

[Akhromeyev] The Soviet Union is indeed destroying a larger number of intermediate-range missiles than the United States. We are destroying 826 missiles; the United States is destroying 689 intermediate-range missiles. But at the same time, a portion of our missiles are old. If one takes modern missiles, then we are destroying 650 such missiles, and the United States 689.

Moreover, we bore in mind that the United States is eliminating their missiles which are deployed in Europe and can reach the territory of the Soviet Union. If one talks of shorter-range missiles, then we considered that they must be taken together with tactical nuclear weapons, too; we took into account the fact that both we and the opponent still have tactical nuclear weapons. And, to sum up, when we considered the correlation of forces we considered it possible to report to our leadership that it was possible to make such a reduction.

With regard to the British and French missiles, the governments of both Great Britain and France have categorically rejected the idea that those weapons should be a subject of the negotiations. We probably had to take account of the fact that they are independent states, but the correlation of nuclear forces was indeed unequal here. Nevertheless, we believe that they will become the object of negotiations on reductions in future stages.

We agreed to eliminate a certain number of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in the east. Mikhail Sergeyevich said in his statement to the newspaper MERDEKA that the Soviet Union is prepared to assume the commitment not to increase its nuclear weapons in the Asian region in the future if such a commitment is undertaken by the U.S. side.

[Vorontsov] In the course of work on the treaty, the Soviet leadership came to the conclusion that arithmetical calculations of the correlation of weapons in terms of each type were not the only things to be taken into account. It was necessary to give the whole cause of

nuclear disarmament a decisive push forward, and to take the first step towards this end—the first step which is always the most difficult one.

We made certain concessions, concessions in the interests of reason. The U.S. side also made certain concessions. On this basis alone, on the basis of thorough consideration of the interests of each side, was it possible to draw up this genuinely historic document.

[Akhromeyev] I indeed agree, for I am again arguing as a military man. The United States' missiles were capable of reaching the territory of the Soviet Union. The missiles which we are now eliminating were not able to reach the territory of the United States. We military specialists had to bear that in mind when we reported our ideas to the leadership. I believe that we had to. Accordingly, it was possible to go so far as to eliminate a somewhat greater number of our missiles than they did, since such a situation had taken shape. We consider that we were able to go that far.

[Korniyenko] Do our experts have any other opinions or remarks on this range of issues? Carry on, please, Yevgeniy Vladimirovich.

[Yevgeniy Vladimirovich Bugrov, doctor of economics] I would like to point out that the signing of this treaty marks the commencement of the program of total elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world by the end of the current century. But at the same time, this treaty begins a process which might be described as disarmament for the sake of development.

One can already say in regard to this treaty, certain human resources as well as that of technical and financial resources are being freed for new production activity.

[S.Ye. Savitskaya, USSR pilot-cosmonaut, representing the Soviet Peace Fund] The implementation of the treaty will release certain human resources. In connection with this the question arises: What social consequences of the implementation of the treaty are expected?

[V.M. Mishin, AUCCTU secretary] The trade unions are also concerned by this problem, and are working on it, and we shall do everything we can to insure that no social tensions arise among those who are today working at these enterprises. [end recording]

The participants in the discussion noted that the total elimination of Intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will undoubtedly reduce the danger of a nuclear war arising. But the question remains: Will damage not be inflicted on the treaty by the so-called compensation measures of NATO? Have each side's obligations not to undertake any actions which contradict the treaty been reflected clearly enough in the treaty, and in particular in Article 14 of it?

[Begin recording] [Vorontsov] In our view, all the plans which are presently being discussed in the United States and in certain Western European countries concerning compensation are indeed blasphemous plans. To try to compensate for this breakthrough with something else means trying to close the very important process which has begun, to turn it back.

[Korniyenko] To sum this part up in a few words, the treaty, both in letter—I am thinking of Article 14—and in its overall spirit is, of course, an obstacle on the path of these plans. It is well-known to us that several interpretations have already emerged in discussion of the treaty in Senate commissions, as have certain calls to somehow supplement the treaty with some interpretations or other. What opinions are there on this score?

[Vorontsov] I would like to say that in the hearings in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Senate, individual voices have been heard calling, for example, for amendments to the treaty that would permit the possession of ground-based cruise missiles with conventional equipment, and not nuclear. Such calls are, of course, of an undermining nature for the treaty. They bear witness to an attempt to create a loophole in the treaty which would make it possible to build up weapons instead of reducing and totally eliminating them.

[Major General V.I. Medvedev] During the discussions, attempts are being made by certain U.S. representatives to catch us looking for some loopholes or other. In particular, the question was posed about us allegedly having incorrectly indicated the number of RSD-10 intermediate-range missiles. A clear explanation was given in response to this yesterday on behalf of the Ministry of Defense.

[Korniyenko] Genrikh Aleksandrovich Trofimenko, go on, please.

[G.A. Trofimenko, deputy director of the USA and Canada Institute] Of course, the treaty does not provide any loopholes for evasion of it, and so on. But the Americans, the realistically-minded senators, I would say, taking into account what has been done by the U.S. Administration with the ABM Treaty, are now trying to exclude the possibility that what has happened to the ABM Treaty will be repeated. That is: There is a single interpretation of the treaty, which will now be registered in the course of the hearings. In my view, it must be said that this is a positive phenomenon.

[M.E.Vartanyan, representing the Soviet Committee of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War] We physicians are greatly troubled by the question of whether the possibility of an attack using conventional weapons on atomic power stations is being examined within the framework of your talks. Can any sort of guarantee be worked out?

[Akhromeyev] There are hundreds of atomic power stations in the world and in Europe. As for chemical works, I cannot give you an exact figure, but there must be several thousand. And so, the task is to fight against war and against aggression. It would surely be useful to conclude such agreements, if such a question arose and if the parties agreed not to deliver strikes in a conventional war. But now they suddenly say: What about verification? But what is verification if there is an outbreak of aggression? The main thing is to fight against the unleasing of a war. That is how I would answer that question.

[Mishin] Are our experts sure today that there are sufficient measures to check on the fulfilment of the treaty that has been signed and that we hope will be ratified?

[Medvedev] If we speak of the verification that is envisaged by the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, then this verification system is without precedent: There was never such a system in any previous treaty. It embraces... [changes thought] In terms of what facilities it embraces, above all, it is very extensive: It takes in all facilities where intermediate- or shorter-range missiles could be housed; missiles at operational bases; auxiliary facilities such as depots, training sites, testing sites, storage sites and so on. In addition, verification is envisaged of several production enterprises. Or to be more precise, verification of the fact that at these enterprises no missiles banned by the treaty are being produced. Thus, in answering your question, I can say with confidence that the verification system envisaged by the treaty provides a basis for verification with confidence.

[Vorontsov] General Medvedev has made a not unimportant point. The point is that, on the question of verification—what was written into the treaty and what was not—on these issues the Soviet Union and the Soviet delegation took an aggressive and active position, confirming at the same time the thesis that we have long propounded: that it, if we are speaking of genuine disarmament, we are interested in genuine verification no less than—and perhaps even more than—the United States.

[Pukhova] I was present at the least session of the commission, and Comrade Yazov, the minister of defense, in answering the question of how the personnel issue would be resolved, said that all servicemen would be found jobs. Everyone heard this and read this, but the Committee of Soviet Women has received telephone calls, and generally consternation is being voiced about what will happen to wives and children; and one would very much like there to be a clear and definite program. Women really do feel worried about this.

[Akhromeyev] Several tens of thousands of our officers are to be released—from their posts, that is. This is no simple matter for the Ministry of Defense. How will it be resolved? In the first place, life is life, and as a matter of course each year in the Ministry of Defense 3 or 4 percent of the officer contingent are discharged and join the reserve. Generally, we make up this deficiency in two ways. Some of the officers—particularly at the senior level, that is, those who have graduated from an academy, and the younger ones who are graduating from colleges—a certain number of officers—several thousand, or rather several tens of thousands—have been recruited by us each year from the national economy after graduation from higher educational establishments. Thus, when they are finished there we have taken the comrades into the army for 2 years. Now we will evidently not be doing this for a year or two. Or at any rate we will do so in much smaller numbers.

We are concerned with the destiny of every officer and his family. And I can also say that the young officers—those who are to serve and those who will be relieved—they will not be discharged from the army. They will continue to serve.

[S.I. Shuklin, Central Committee of the Defense Industry Workers Trade Union] What can we use today in the national economy of the equipment being dismantled?

[Medvedev] Use will be made in the national economy primarily of the large vehicles being released from the launchers and the transport facilities. Overall, the number of launchers comprises about 600 vehicles for intermediate-range missiles and about 300 vehicles will be transferred to the national economy. The total savings from this transfer will amount to more than R50,000,000. [end recording]

Summing up the results of the discussion, Georgiy Markovich Korniyenko, chairman of the commission, said:

[Begin Korniyenko recording] It appears to be beyond dispute that the total elimination of two classes of missiles, U.S. and Soviet ones, of intermediate- and shorter-range, reduces the danger of nuclear war arising, and hence strengthens both the security of our two countries and international security. Hence, even hypothetically, there are no grounds to ask whether the treaty damages security. Since it strengthens security, then it is not legitimate to even pose such a question.

The existence of a greater number of missiles subject to destruction on the Soviet Union's part compared with the United States is explained, as far as I understand, by the fact that the arsenal of these missiles was created as part of an overall balance, an overall equilibrium of all of the intermediate-range nuclear missiles, not only those possessed by the USSR and the United States, but also those of third countries; and the USSR could not fail to reckon with them having these missiles. The purely numerical difference between the missiles being destroyed in the USSR and the United States does not fully reflect the true state of affairs.

In other words, if we take a common denominator, taking into account the unequal strategic value of the different missiles, then either there will be no difference at all, or it will not be as great as might seem at first glance. If, nevertheless, some preponderance does remain because of the British and French missiles being taken into account the quantity of missiles being destroyed by the Soviet Union—that is, even when one makes a common denominator—then this should be regarded as our kind of advance contribution, if you like, to the account of subsequent reductions in nuclear weapons.

All of this, one must suppose, has also provided a foundation for Mikhail Sergeyevich to state that each side has made concessions, but has conceded just as much as was necessary in order to balance their interests in the specific sphere concerned. That is, summing all this up once again, there is probably every reason to draw the conclusion that there are no objective grounds for concern over the consequences of the intermediate- and shorter- range missile treaty for the security of the Warsaw Pact countries. [end recording]

Further Report on Session

LD200250 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1540 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] We present for your attention a report on a session of the Preparatory Commission, the working organ of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in connection with examination of the question of ratification of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Our special correspondent Igor Charikov reports:

[Charikov] The session took place in the hall of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Present in the hall—in addition to members of the commission, which is composed of 10 deputies from both chambers of our supreme legislative organ—were representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, experts and specialists from institutes of the Academy of Sciences, a large number of heads of public organizations, including the AUCCTU, the Defense Industry Workers Union, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, and the Commission for Ties With Religious Champions of Peace—which was represented by the metropolitan filaret—and also a group of journalists.

The session was opened by Georgiy Markovich Korniyenko, chairman of the Preparatory Commission, deputy of the Soviet of the Union, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Begin recording] [Korniyenko] In beginning discussion of the issue put before the Preparatory Commission, namely the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles of the Soviet Union and the United States, I would like first of all to say, by way of information, that to judge from the information the commission already has at its disposal—we received this information from mail addressed to the Supreme Soviet and from letters and responses going to the central press organs and other Soviet departments—one can definitely state that the overwhelming majority of Soviet people support this treaty and advocate its ratification. I repeat, the majority, the overwhelming majority are unambiguously in favor of this treaty.

There are equally unambiguous opinions against it, too. But they are few in number, isolated, one could say. Furthermore, I would like to point out that those comrades who express themselves to be unambiguously against the treaty are prompted not by any bad motives, but honestly and frankly say that they quite simply do not trust the imperialists, that one should not have any confidence in them, one should not rely on their word, and therefore one should not disarm to the extent envisaged by this treaty.

It is primarily upon these issues which we would like to concentrate in our work, in order to help both those of us who are still unclear about anything, and those outside this hall who may have questions, and to clear these things up finally. To summarize, the issue can be formulated like this: Does the treaty correspond fully with the interests of the security of our state, bearing in mind that the USSR is destroying a larger number of its missiles than the United States. This is the question most frequently asked. Secondly, it is a matter of concern that the USSR agreed not to take into account the British and French missiles; and many people point out how convincingly we had proved that these should be taken into account. The third question usually asked in this category relates to the fact that in Asia we are virtually unilaterally destroying them. Does not this add to the danger, so to speak? So, I repeat, I would like, in addition to what has already been said and written, to hear some additional explanations from Comrade Akhromeyev, Sergey Fedorovich. [Akhromeyev] Esteemed comrade members of the commission, comrades! If one approaches from a purely military point of view whether our country's defense interests are secured by signing the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, then it is the opinion of the General Staff and the USSR Ministry of Defense as a whole that such interests are indeed secured. Following the implementation of the treaty, that is, following the elimination of the USSR's and United States' intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the security of the Soviet Union will not be infringed upon.

The Soviet Union is indeed destroying a larger number of intermediate-range missiles than the United States. We are destroying 826 missiles; the United States is destroying 689 intermediate-range missiles. But at the same time, a portion of our missiles are old. If one takes modern missiles, then we are destroying 650 such missiles, and the United States 689. [end recording]

[Charikov] After Marshal Akhromeyev, Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, then took the floor.

[Begin Vorontsov recording] I should like to say that the path to signing the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was a long and difficult one. It passed through lengthy and tense disputes and discussions, and surmounted stereotypes and emotions. For, one had to make up one's mind not only to renounce modern armaments, a specific category of modern weapons, but it was necessary to a great degree to reinterpret what was happening in the world in this connection. The new political thinking has been of fundamental importance in all this, the new political thinking which was reflected in the decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th party congress and the program for nuclear disarmament put forward on 15 January 1986, which Sergey Fedorovich has already mentioned.

In the course of work on the treaty, the Soviet leadership came to the conclusion that arithmetical calculations of the correlation of weapons in terms of each type were not the only things to be taken into account. It was necessary to give the whole cause of nuclear disarmament a decisive push forward, and to take the first step towards this end—the first step, which is always the most difficult one.

We made certain concessions, concessions in the interest of reason. The U.S. side also made certain concessions. On this basis alone, on the basis of thorough consideration of the interests of each side, was it possible to draw up this genuinely historic document, a document historic in every respect, but also in the sense that it is the first agreement between two major world powers on the physical elimination of an entire class of weapons.

Over recent decades, I would say, we have never come close to the question of physical elimination of the latest weapons. Now we are close to that. I would like to add only this consideration. [end recording]

[Charikov] The commission chairman asked for comments by experts. Yevgeniy Vladimirovich Bugrov, representative of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economics and International Relations, took the floor.

[Begin Bugrov recording] I do not raise any other criticisms, because it is indeed a major gain for security. But there is something minor to add to what you, Georgiy Markovich, said about taking positions and making final judgements on this treaty, so to speak. For I would like to point out that signing this treaty marks the commencement of the program of total elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world by the end of the current century. But at the same time, this treaty begins a process which might be described as disarmament for the sake of development. And from this point of view, the additional economic usefulness and expediency of the treaty under discussion emerges.

I would like to draw attention to precisely this aspect of matters, because even though this treaty in itself does not obviously hold out the promise of a major economic gain—for the process of nuclear disarmament is only just beginning, and the further the process advances, the greater the economic gain will be—but one can already say in reagrd to this treaty that certain human resources as well as technical and financial resources are being freed for new productive activity. Thank you. [end recording]

[Charikov] During the session, members of the commission, experts and representatives of public organizations repeatedly raised the issue that the United States and other Western countries are even now earnestly discussing the question of so-called compensation following the destruction of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which would allegedly guarantee the security of the NATO countries. Yuriy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov explained that such attempts are cut short by Article 14 of the Soviet-U.S. treaty, and that this document leaves no loopholes for violation of it.

The question of means of verification [kontrol] of compliance with the articles of the treaty was also raised, and also the possible reduction in strategic offensive weapons and conventional weapons. Ways of destroying the nuclear warheads, the ecological consequences of this and social aspects of disarmament were discussed. Representatives of public organizations spoke, expressing in their questions to the members of the commission and experts the thoughts and sentiments of the Soviet people in connection with the forthcoming ratification.

The floor was then taken by Academician Blokhin, a member of the commission, a deputy of the Soviet of Nationalities and director of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences' All-Union Oncological Scientific Center. He said, specifically:

[Begin Blokhin recording] When a doctor is operating on a patient for, say, cancer, while removing the tumor he is not thinking about implanting another illness, but how to consolidate the cure. He supplements this with radiation, with chemotherapy and so on. And it seems to me that here there is an analogy with the ideology of our people generally, our country and our party, when we are struggling energetically to get this treaty concluded and also thinking that there should really be no question of compensation or loopholes and that this should really be a great achievement, so to speak. And we all, naturally...

[Korniyenko, interrupting] So that there should be no metastasis.

[Blokhin] So that there should be no metastasis. So I think that here we have a united approach to this matter, and that we all generally welcome very much the fact the first, very important step—literally the first step in the world—toward the reduction of nuclear weapons, has been taken. [end recording]

[Charikov] The session of the commission lasted more than 2 hours, but, of course, not all questions arising in connection with the first treaty on the destruction of a whole class of nuclear missile weaponry were raised and discussed exhaustively. The chairman said that the commission would continue its work before drawing up and submitting its recommendations and proposals.

After the session closed, I talked with Academician Sagdeyev, a member of the commission, a deputy to the Soviet of the Union and director of the Institute of Space Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is what he said about ratification of the treaty:

[Begin recording] [Sagdeyev] I think that the treaty should definitely be ratified. The only questions that could be raised are questions of just how honestly the opposite side will approach this treaty, and I think that we will see this in the process of ratification over there, in their process of more detailed analysis of the debates that have already started on the issue of so-called compensation, modernization and so on.

[Charikov] That is what was talked about today in the session of the commission?

[Sagdeyev] Yes, definitely.

[Charikov] Thank you. [end recording]

You have been listening to a report on the session of the Preparatory Commission, the working body of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in connection with consideration of the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Akhromeyev, Vorontsov Comment

LD192054 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—Does the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles fully meet the security interests of our state? Doesn't the circumstance that our country scraps more missiles than the United States infringe upon these interests?

These and other issues pertaining to the ratification of the treaty signed in Washington last December were central to the participants in today's session of the Preparatory Commission, a working body of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which was set up to study in detail the INF Treaty.

Opening the session, Georgiy Korniyenko, chairman of the commission, said: Judging by the mail of the Supreme Soviet, other departments, by Soviet citizens' responses in the national press, the overwhelming majority of Soviet people favour the ratification of the treaty. Letters are also coming in, in which a certain concern is expressed along with the support of the treaty, requests are made to clarify some of the issues related to it.

Answering these questions, Sergey Akhromeyev, head of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, emphasized that the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles did not violate in any way our country's defence interests. The Soviet Union really destroys a larger number of missiles—826 intermediate-range missiles as compared with 689 missiles of the United States. If one is to take such modern missiles, we destroy 650 and the United States the same 689. As for shorter-range missiles, the decision on them was considered and became possible with account of the correlation of all types of tactical weapons. One should also take into consideration the point that Americans destroy missiles which are deployed in Europe and are capable of reaching fastly Soviet territory.

Sergey Akhromeyev drew attention to the position of Britain and France, which invariably rejected the idea of taking account of their nuclear forces, emphasizing that they supposedly do not take part in bilateral Soviet-U.S. negotiations and their potential is incomparable with the nuclear might of the USSR and the United States. It is important to understand the simple truth, the chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces noted. If the Soviet Union's leadership did not venture to take a bold and compromise step, removing from the agenda at the current stage the issue of British and French nuclear forces, there would be no historic accord. And, nonetheless, we are justified in hoping that Britain and France, whose systems are part of the NATO arsenal, will join the subsequent stages of nuclear disarmament.

The military aspects of scrapping intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles in the east cannot be viewed outside the general political context, Sergey Akhromeyev said. The situation in the Asia-Pacific region, specifically in the Far East, is known to have changed for the better in recent years. We took this into consideration. Besides, the USSR expressed readiness to commit itself not to build up nuclear forces in that region if the United States also takes the similar step according to our information, Americans did not increase its nuclear potential in the Asia-Pacific region close to the USSR's borders in recent time—prior to the signing of the treaty and following its signing.

On the whole, it appears to be indisputable that total destruction of two classes of Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles will lessen the danger of a nuclear war breaking out and, hence, will strengthen both states' security and thus international security, participants in the session noted. Consequently, irrespective of particulars, it is possible to speak even in purely hypothetical terms only about whether the treaty will enhance the sides' security in an equal measure rather than whether it damages the USSR's security.

Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, noted that the INF Treaty was one of the first really tangible results of the new political thinking. We agreed to concessions in the interests of reason, there were definite concessions also from the U.S. side. We have never come so closely to the destruction of the whole class of nuclear weapons throughout the past decade.

Yes, the total destruction of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles undoubtedly scales down the danger of a nuclear war breaking out, parliamentarians said. But the question remains: Do NATO "compensatory" measures not damage the treaty?

Our experience of conducting Soviet-U.S. negotiations on disarmament confirms that it is essential to trust but also to verify. It is necessary that a definite barrier be put so that the commitments assumed by the United States are not violated by any actions outside the framework of this treaty. Article 14 of the treaty, which was initiated by the USSR, is just meant to give such guarantees.

The Soviet side waged a heavy fight for the inclusion of this article in the treaty up to the most recent days. What we observe in the West now around the issue of the so-called compensations only confirms our foresight of the need to include in the treaty clear-cut guarantees which are contained in the afore-mentioned article, Yuliy Vorontsov noted.

Noting the importance of the treaty as the first step towards implementing the programme for building a nuclear-free world, advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in January, 1986, participants in the session underscored the need to give fresh impetus to the efforts to attain within the shortest possible time its near-term goals—a drastic reduction in strategic offensive armaments given scrupulous compliance with the ABM Treaty, and a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing.

Akhromeyev on Publishing Data

LD200543 [Editorial Report] Moscow in English to North America at 2300 GMT on 19 February carries a report on the 19 February session in Moscow of the Preparatory Commission of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the ratification of the INF Treaty.

A number of members of the committee and experts testifying before it are heard in the background speaking in Russian while the announcer explains their comments. Member of the commission Dr. Roald Sagdeyev told reporter Sergey Goryachev that he had called for immediate ratification but many Supreme Soviet members would like further information from experts and there are also many letters from the electorate. Metropolitan Filaret is cited as supporting the treaty and saying that at meetings of his church with U.S. churches ways to promote peace and cooperation were discussed. Genrikh Borovik, head of the Soviet Peace Committee, expressed concern about possible ecological effects of destroying the missiles. Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, said that the USSR believes that the U.S. decision to destroy their missiles by burning the solid fuel will pollute the atmosphere considerably much more than the detonation proposed by the USSR will. Cosmonaut Svetlana Savitskaya, a member of the Soviet Peace Fund, is cited as saying that the fund offered to pay for studies to turn military aircraft into civilian ones. General Yevgeniy Medvedev, an expert at the Soviet Defense Ministry, said that studies are getting underway to work out a national program for converting military industries to civilian purposes and financial help from the Peace Fund would be welcomed.

The report concludes with the following passage:

"One more question was put to the head of the General Headquarters, Marshal Akhromeyev. Officials in the West have been claiming the Warsaw Treaty Organizaiton has an advantage over NATO in conventional arms. The Soviet Defense Minister recently acknowledged there are indeed some disproportions. Why don't the Soviet military publish a thorough data on their weaponry to remove the misunderstanding? A reply from Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev:

"[Begin Akhromeyev recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The data on the state of arms and armed forces in Europe can be used against the Warsaw Pact if it publishes them unilaterally. We are ready to reveal the data only if NATO does the same. The data currently published by such Western institutions as the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London cannot be relied upon, for they are unofficial. [end recording]"

Petrovskiy Addresses Geneva Conference

LD192346 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] The disarmament conference in Geneva was today addressed by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Comrade Petrovskiy. The political situation that is taking shape in the world, he said, is providing the international negotiating mechanisms, including the disarmament conference, with a powerful impetus to operate at a pace exceeding that of the arms race. The present session of the disarmament conference, the Soviet representative noted, is taking place directly before the start of the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament on 31 May 1988. A broad and all-round discussion of the military parameters for an all-embracing system of international security—in other words, of ways to achieve disarmament and strengthen confidence, leading to a nuclear-free and nonviolent world—to due to take place there. The conference has every opportunity to arrive at this extraordinary event with a

substantial dossier of resolved issues, and above all with a prepared draft convention on banning chemical weapons, Comrade Petrovskiy said.

Arbatov on U.S. Attempts To Thwart INF Treaty
LD192347 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1610 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Studio interview with Academician Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, director of the Institute of the United States and Canada, by Farid-Seyful Mulyukov on 19 February—recorded; from the "World Today" program presented by Farid-Seyful Mulyukov]

[Text] [Mulyukov] Today we met a participant of the plenum, Academician Arbatov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and director of the Institute of the United States and Canada.

Georgiy Arkadyevich, although the plenum focused attention on problems and tasks of secondary and higher education in the context of restructuring, key international problems have not, as is obvious, escaped its sight either, have they? Above all I have in mind problems of nuclear disarmament. You witnessed the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and you have been to the United States quite recently. How do you assess the present political situation in the United States in the light of the signed treaty and possible forthcoming measures in the sphere of nuclear disarmament? Over to you, please.

[Arbatov] The issues have indeed been discussed. They have been mentioned in some speeches and above all in the plenum speech of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Among the international problems discussed there were also those that you have just mentioned. I am sure that the plenum materials will be read with interest both in our country and in the world.

To answer your question I can say this. Of course, the signing of this agreement—the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles—is a very important event. It is obvious that weapons are being dismantled, in great numbers at that. But let us consider all these things together: Preparations for the meeting, the meeting itself—all this produced a very gret effect. As a matter of fact, the effect was so great that many Americans got frightened.

[Mulyukov] Why have you used the word frightened?

[Arbatov] Yes, I have used the word frightened, because it became obvious to them what effect it had on the United States. Extreme right-wing forces, and not only extreme right-wing but also cold war traditionalists of a sort—they can be seen as moderate conservatives—got frightened that they were losing ground from under their feet, that the United States— by the way it perceived this first step on the way toward nuclear disarmament—might indeed side with the sort of policy it reflects. What if this becomes a trend or a process, as it were. What would you do then? All foundation would collapse. Having realized this, these forces started a counteroffensive. Of course, they would most of all like to scrap the treaty itself. But I think many of them understand what a difficult task this would be. This would mean clashes with the U.S. allies, and American public opinion, and serious political forces in the United States. They would have liked to see the process halted at least and the December events in Washington to remain as an isolated episode rather than be the first stage in the process which would develop further and further, taking us away from being on the verge of a nuclear war, and crazy spending on armaments. So of course there are still important forces in the United States which are against disarmament.

So, it is obvious, as you can see; there is no reason for euphoria, and there is no euphoria among us. I think that the Soviet public does not feel euphoric either. A great deed has been done. It has introduced a great change but an acute struggle, and a serious one at that, is still ahead of us.

[Mulyukov] Can one say that the aim of the counteroffensives by the forces that are against the Soviet-U.S. treaty and detente is in fact to thwart the next step, that is the treaty...?

[Arbatov, interrupting] Exactly, exactly. Even now an attack is being conducted on forthcoming measures so as to make the Washington summit meeting an isolated episode. This is what lies at the center of the battle here. These people are afraid that if another agreement is signed soon it will be difficult to stop the process.

[Mulyukov] Georgiy Arkadyevich, we all know that in the next few days U.S. Secretary of State Shultz is to visit Moscow. But still obviously both sides prefer the Soviet-U.S. treaty to have a sequel.

[Arbatov] You know after Washington of course, it generally would not be true to say that the administration has refused to fulfil its pledges. We can indeed see that the administration is trying to do what it can to get the treaty ratified and signed, ratified in the Senate. But at the same time it is giving in; it is losing territory under the pressure of rightwingers, so to speak. This is a very strange [spetsificheskaya] administration. It also consists of rightwingers, even perhaps generally extreme rightwingers to a considerable extent. The administration is hesitant. The Geneva talks are not progressing.

[Mulyukov] Do you mean discussion of the treaty on a 50-percent reduction of offensive weapons. The next step!

[Arbatov] Exactly. I have in mind the talks that are conducted in Geneva on that very treaty which is intended to be signed, as was settled in Washington, during Reagan's forthcoming visit to Moscow, that is, during the next summit meeting. But on some issues they

have backed out. This causes concern. You see common sense of course and understanding of the reality of modern times prompts disarmament. Common sense is becoming a real force now, considering that it is reinforced by the dictates of economic and political necessity. It has become clear to the Americans that even they, despite the great wealth of their country, cannot pay such arms race bills. They have realized possible political (?consequences).

Technically speaking this is still possible even during the time that is left now, although it is regrettable that 2 months out of the 6 have been wasted. The next summit meeting is due to be held in May-June. The thing is that the time factor is becoming very important. Time is running out. Time is flying, it is implaccable. I have in mind the calendar time and also political time. One must act because the United States has a political timetable of its own: election year, for example. One must act in order to have enough time to progress the work on the treaty and write it down and sign it on time. All this causes alarm; the administration cannot or does not wish to oppose the right-wing pressure. Things do not move. It is obvious, you see. If one backs out on the accords already attained, this arouses doubts.

But I would not like to end our conversation on this note, considering that Mr Shultz's arrival is imminent, because during the hard years when the dialogue resumed at a new level and in the conditions of new political thinking, it became clear that our internal restructuring is organically bound to the new political thinking and new initiatives in our foreign policy. Restructuring needs foreign policy, while foreign policy assumes a completely different form, thanks to restructuring. The image of the enemy is collapsing. This is what frightens. Without this, it turns out, the whole cold war policy is built on sand. But I would not like to focus attention on these worries and on the darker side because over the past years it has become clear to us that meetings between a USSR foreign minister and U.S. secretary of state used to be instrumental in disentangling quite intricate and tight knots. One wishes to hope that this time this will also be the case.

[Mulyukov] Here is a report from Washington: At a briefing in the State Department it was said that Shultz's forthcoming trip to Moscow pursues two aims: First, preparation for the Moscow summit meeting; second attempting to develop the dialogue at a high level as a way to steer relations between the USSR and the United States. The following very important points on the agenda of Shultz's visit to Moscow were listed: arms control, human rights—this theme has become a hobby horse of U.S. diplomacy—regional problems, and bilateral relations.

Bogachev Comments on Geneva Talks Progress
LD191549 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS—Follows commentary by TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev:

The hopeful progress in getting agreement on a treaty on a cut in the stratetic offensive weapons, which manifested itself after the summit meeting in Washington, has not yet given the expected impetus to the Soviet-American talks in progress in Geneva.

Some Washington officials are complaining about the protraction of the talks on nuclear and space weapons, while Edward Rowny, special advisor to the U.S. President claims that this is happening through the Soviet side's fault.

What is the state of affairs at Geneva now? In recent weeks the situation at the talks has noticeably worsened. This happened by no means because of "Soviet procrastination tactics", as Edward Rowny claims. The point is that the U.S. side is trying to effect a massive departure from the accords which are explicitly spelled out in the joint statement at the summit level.

The U.S. delegation in Geneva is now pretending that the Washington summit meeting did not cover at all the question of the observance of the ABM Treaty the way it was signed in 1972, that the leaders of the two countries allegedly did not confirm in the documents signed mutual understanding on the organic connection between the drafting of a treaty on strategic nuclear weapons and non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty in the course of an agreed time. The U.S. side tabled at Geneva the draft treaty on "strategic defence", which if adopted would bring to nought the fundamentals of the ABM agreement of 1972, give a green light ot the tests in outer space of strike weapons and their deployment in a near-earth orbit.

The militarisation of outer space according to the "star wars" plans will lead to a sharp destabilisation of the military-political situation in the world. Naturally, the Soviet Union does not intend to assist towards its further sharpening, in reducing nuclear weapons on earth in conditions of a dramatic build-up of even more dangerous strike weapons systems in outer space. Militarisation of outer space and a cut in the strategic offensive weapons on earth are incompatible things.

The Soviet side does not wish to follow the American scenario in ensuring its defence. As the Soviet leaders repeatedly stressed, the Soviet response to the violation of the ABM Treaty by the U.S. side will be more effective, speedier and less expensive than SDI.

Now the U.S. delegation at Geneva is refusing to comply with the accord reached on the search for mutually-acceptable decisions on the questions of the limitation of deployment of long-range sea-based Cruise missiles. Washington insists now, in particular, on the right to deploy sea-based Cruise missiles tipped with conventional, non-nuclear warheads. Yet it is well known that non-nuclear warheads of the Cruise missiles can be replaced with nuclear ones literally in a matter of hours.

Washington has recently submitted a proposal on additional restrictions on ground-based missiles, which were not envisaged in the joint statement. There is an impression that the U.S. side has a stake not in a cut in the strategic offensive systems, but in gaining unilateral military advantage through escalating the weapons race at sea into outer space, i.e. by unfolding it through the channels which the Pentagon considers advantageous to itself.

The signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has opened good prospects for progress in all other fields of arms control. It is important not to miss the opportunities which opened, make the process of disarmament continuous and irreversible.

The joint Soviet-American statement signed in Washington is based on these provisions. It is important that in its practical foreign policy actions, including at the Geneva talks, the U.S. side should be guided by the spirit and letter of that document.

Senate Committee Hearings on INF Treaty Continue
LD201150 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Washington February 20 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko reports:

The U.S. Senate should give its consent to ratification of the INF Treaty without any amendments or reservations. This opinion was expressed at the hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Friday by John Rhinelander, a prominent U.S. arms control expert, former legal counsellor of the U.S. delegation at the SALT-1 talks.

He warned that, if the Senate did not endorse the treaty within the next few months, that would become a big foreign-policy setback which would have serious consequences for the USA's relations with the allies.

Mr Rhinelander said that, if only for this reason alone, the treaty should be ratified without delay and without any conditions.

This opinion is also shared by John Steinbrunner, staff member of the authoritative Brookings Institution. He pointed out that the treaty should be regarded, in particular, as the first stage on the way to a broader accord in the field of ensuring security and envisaging a cut in strategic arms.

As has been the case more than once during the hearings on the Soviet-U.S. treaty in Senate committees, speakers stated that the elimination of Pershing and Cruise missiles should be compensated by modernizing NATO's tactical nuclear arms.

A diametrically opposite point of view on that score was expressed by Jonathan Dean, counsellor of the Union of Concerned Scientists on Arms Control Issues. He said that no new necessity to upgrade NATO's nuclear forces arose in connection with the INF Treaty, and that there was no sense in reducing nuclear arms on the one hand and building them up on the other.

However, at the hearings in the U.S. Senate committees, there is no lack of speeches by opponents of the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Sven Cramer, who until recently was in charge of arms control issues in the National Security Council, launched a frontal attack on the treaty. According to the conclusion drawn by him, the INF Treaty would put America and its allies in jeopardy.

As far as Eugene Rostow, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, is concerned, the keeping of a small equal amount of missiles on each of the sides in Europe is more to his liking. "For tactical considerations" he also comes out against a speedy ratification of the treaty. Such kind of tactical calculations are obviously aimed at dragging out the treaty considering process and at trying to bury it under a pile of various amendments and reservations.

Economic Cooperation Commission Holds Session

PM191655 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Session Held"]

[Text] The first constituent session of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Foreign Economic Ties took place in Moscow 15-16 February.

The committee session discussed its tasks regarding the implementation of the decisions of the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session sitting and the 125th and 126th sessions of the council's Executive Committee. The constituent documents for the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Foreign Economic Ties were examined and the plan for the committee's work for 1988-1989 approved.

The session also examined other questions of cooperation between CEMA member countries in the sphere of foreign economic ties.

Cuban Among Participants

FL161942 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 16 Feb 88

[By Ismael Tantao—live from Moscow]

[Text] An important CEMA meeting began yesterday in Moscow to organize the CEMA committee for cooperation in foreign economic relations.

Delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, CSSR, and the USSR, as well as representatives from Yugoslavia, are participating in this meeting.

The Cuban delegation is presided over by Cuban Foreign Trade Minister Ricardo Cabrisas.

Establishing a new trade structure for cooperation among member countries is among the topics on the agenda for the meeting that culminates today. The tasks handled by two permanent commissions—the Foreign Trade and Technical Assistance Commissions—will be simplified since one organ will now be responsible for this area.

The meeting will end this afternoon, Moscow time, at the CEMA. Other topics to be discussed at the meeting include the new committee's rules and work plan.

The intense work of experts prevailed this weekend over the meeting.

CEMA To Receive Investment Bank Support

LD211942 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Galkin writes:

New forms of socialist countries' cooperation will get the necessary banking support. The International Investments Bank (IIB), of which the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) are members, has expressed readiness to promote through its credits the development of direct production contacts between enterprises and the operation of joint ventures.

Until now the IIB granted credits for the construction or modernisation of the largest projects of multilateral cooperation of CMEA countries. The credits were lent, in the main, in transferable roubles (the collective currency of CMEA countries) and in freely convertible currencies acquired as a result of the IIB's activities on the international capital market. But enterprises which maintain direct production contacts expect to use the national currencies of their countries in settling accounts.

"We can well carry out credit-lending operations in the national currencies of CMEA countries resultant of funds drawn from the authorised national banks in the form of financial credits, deposits as well as through exchanging for transferrable roubles," Albert Belichenko, chairman of the IIB board, has said in an interview with the TASS correspondent.

"National currencies are needed, first of all, for paying for the deliveries and services of the partners. As far as enlargement and modernisation of enterprises maintaining direct contacts are concerned, the transferrable rouble has by no means lost its power."

Albert Belichenko said the bank would like to grant credits in freely convertible currencies, first of all, to finance the activities to introduce new achievements in the leading directions of science and technology: the purchase and mastering of licences, the know-how, and so on.

CEMA Oil, Gas Commission Meets in Moscow

LD171518 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance's Standing Commission for Cooperation in the oil and gas industries held its 63rd (extraordinary) sitting in Moscow on February 16 and 17.

It was attended by delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. In keeping with an agreement between the CMEA and the Yugoslav Government, the session was attended by a delegation from Yugoslavia as well.

The commission considered its tasks stemming from the decisions of the 43rd (extraordinary) sitting of the CMEA session and the 125th meeting of the CMEA Executive Committee.

The commission discussed multilateral cooperation in priority areas defined at the sitting and hammered out proposals for the commission for streamlining the machinery of cooperation.

The sitting also heard a report on the commission's work in 1987 and its further activities.

The session was held in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

Trustworthiness of Western Leaders Assessed

PM211455 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Reader's letter under the rubric "Letter for Reflection": "On the Question of Trust" followed by V. Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion"]

[Text] Esteemed Editors,

I have read President R. Reagan's statement, an account of which was published in IZVESTIYA (No 350, 1987). Speaking at the Washington Center for Strategic and International Studies soon after the signing of the Treaty on the Elimintaion of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, he let it be known that NATO will continue to rely on nuclear weapons. "We will maintain a modern potential for nuclear deterrence on land, in the air, and at sea," Reagan stressed. At the same time, he once again spoke about his administration's intention to continue work on the creation of a large-scale "Star Wars" system with space-based elements.

But during M.S. Gorbachev's visit, the President spoke in quite a different tone. Tell us, is it possible to believe the U.S. President to any acceptable extent at all?

French Prime Minister J. Chirac went even further. Speaking to students at a military research institute, he stated that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles "represents a challenge to Europe," and so on and so forth.

How this can be claimed is incomprehensible to me, a participant and invalid of the Great Patriotic War, and to those thousands and millions who fought for our common victory. But I do know one thing: This is blasphemy to the millions of my comrades who died in World War II.

What worries me is this: Has the world started looking too early at the figures mentioned and people like them as virtual peacemakers?

I fear that for the sake of achieving complete disarmament, our steps in this direction have been too hasty. Or perhaps I simply cannot forget fascist Germany's treacherous attack on our country in June 1941.

M.A. Snitsar. Uman, Cherkassy Oblast.

Political Observer's Opinion [subhead]

Esteemed Mikhail Anisimovich,

What you are writing about concerns many people. Can governments in the West be trusted when we sign agreements with them, especially in the disarmament sphere? This question is also raised in the West about the Soviet Union. Trust is essential on both sides. How can it be built? First and foremost, as far as the disarmament process is concerned, trust can be built by mutual inspection and verification. Of course, this is not the only means, but it is absolutely essential. Now, in accordance with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, a system of monitoring has been developed and agreed on a practical basis: Soviet inspectors will be on U.S. territory, and U.S. inspectors on ours. There has been nothing like this in international practice, nor had real steps been taken on the road to disarmament.

So the question of "haste" in this sphere has not and does not apply. We are not in favor of unilateral disarmament and do not expect this from the United States or its NATO partners. Thus, while universal and complete disarmament has still not been reached and while we have to fight for this goal, maintaining our defense at the proper level was and remains the most important task. In the first half of the 1970's, our nuclear potential was generally equal to the U.S. potential. This was a great achievement. We are fully determined to maintain this strategic parity and equality. For this it is not obligatory to have a balance at the present high levels: It is possible and necessary, we believe, to substantially reduce the mutual levels of strategic and other arsenals so as to release the funds and resources for civilian purposes, which are in such short supply for all countries.

On space: Our aim is to avert an arms race in space. If this does not succeed, then, as M.S. Gorbachev has stated, our country will find a suitable answer to any challenge made to our security interests. Here, as you will probably understand, we have all the essential material and other possibilities.

On the French leaders' position with regard to the question of disarmament: At present it is indeed the least constructive in comparison with the governments of other West European countries. We have to struggle for disarmament and overcome opposition and obstruction. That is how it was and will be. The new factor is that now we are succeeding in achieving positive results on this path. I am convinced that those in France who occupy a negative position in this sphere will not improve their political chances. Quite the reverse.

The public judges political leaders by their deeds. For this reason, I do not think that the world has started looking at the figures you mentioned through rose-colored glasses. These figures still have to their credit too little of what is needed to give grounds for regarding them as "peacemakers." At best they are only paying lip service to the goal of disarmament.

And last, the lessons of 1941: Since that time, conditions have changed radically. The nature of modern weapons is such that their use would signify unignorable, irreparable consequences for the attacking side, too. Another point: There is currently no government in the world

which, like the Nazi one in Germany in the 1930's, would advance the aims of seizing extensive territories and waging a world conflict. Finally, socialism has become a world system.

We are striving to put an end to the arms race, to steer toward an all-embracing system of international security and a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. We believe that this aim is not utopian but is an attainable goal for mankind.

Nicaraguan UN Mission Issues Statement

LD192220 Moscow TASS in English 2135 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] New York February 19 TASS—Nicaragua's permanent mission to the U.N. has attracted the attention of the international community to the continuation of the "unlawful policy of war" against the Republic by the United States. As is pointed out in the statement issued today by the Nicaraguan mission and addressed to the U.N. secretary general, the contra gangs formed, armed and trained by the United States, daily perpetrate acts of terrorism and murder. Thus the USA is continuing its unlawful and immoral policy, dooming to death peaceful Nicaraguan citizens including children.

Nicaragua's permanent mission to the U.N. noted that Washington rejects the plan for a political settlement of the crisis in Central America, which was put forward in Guatemala by the presidents of five states in that region and supported by the Contadora Group and the Support Group, the Nonaligned Movement, all the progressive international public as well as a majority of the population and Congress members of the USA itself.

On its part Nicaragua has again confirmed its preparedness to live up to its promises stemming from the Guatemala accords. It again proposed the U.S. Administration that it help towards implementing these agreements and entering into a direct dialogue with the Nicaraguan Government to discuss security questions in Central America and achieve verifiable agreements which could make it possible to develop between the two countries relations based on mutual respect.

Catholic Activists Petition Soviet Presidium

LD211631 Vatican City International Service in German 1500 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] In Moscow on Friday, two Catholic activists brought a petition to the Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning the lifting of the ban on the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The responsible official, however, refused to accept the petition, which had been signed by more than 5,000 Catholics. The Orthodox human rights activist Aleksandr Ogorodnikov reported this in a telephone call from Moscow yesterday. This is the third such petition since last August that has not been recognized by the authorities. Ogorodnikov said he would give the petition to U.S. Secretary of State Shultz today and ask him to pass it on to party chief Gorbachev. Shultz arrives today for a visit of several days to the Soviet Union.

Baptist Leader Addresses Issue of Religion

LD200206 Moscow TASS in English 22323 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Geneva February 19 TASS—A lively discussion is currently under way in the USSR on the role of the church in the country's history in connection with the millenium of the baptism (introduction of Christianity) of Russia, said Aleksey Bychkov (Presbyter Aleksey) secretary general of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists. He was addressing the current 44th session here of the U.N. Human Rights Commission discussing the question of the implementation of the declaration on the elimination of all forms of intolerence and discrimination on the grounds of religion and conviction.

The improvement of relations between the church and the state in recent years is due to the adoption and implementation of the constitutional guarantees ensuring a practical exercise of the freedom of conscience by the Soviet citizens, implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Act in the USSR, Aleksey Bychkov continued.

Over the decade of 1977-1987 the Church of Evangelical Christian Baptists has built more than 350 new churches, more than 500,000 copies of the Bible and other religious literature were issued in the country or brought from abroad.

Beginning from 1950 the Church of Evangelical Christian Baptists restored its connections with the World Union of Baptists, in 1963 it joined the World Council of Churches and established good relations with the Baptists churches in the USA, Britain and many other countries.

Even in the cold war years, when East-West cultural and economic ties were almost suspended, the church ties stayed together with the believers of the USA, Britain and other countries. We prayed for building up confidence between the countries. Now we are grateful to God for the considerable improvement of the situation in the world, for the revival of the spirit of peace and cooperation, Aleksey Bychkov emphasized.

We believers of the Soviet Union treat seriously and constructively the question of human rights both on the national and international scale and are prepared to cooperate with all in the spirit of democracy and openness. We wish that the decisions of the Human Rights Commission should reflect not the results of battlefield, but the fruit of the field of cooperation, Aleksey Bychkov said in conclusion.

'International Situation—Questions and Answers'

LD191848 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 19 Feb 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Andrey Ptashnikov, foreign political commentator of All-Union Radio, with political observer Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin; Vladimir Fadeyev; international affairs journalist Stanislav Blazhenkov; and commentator Nikolay Agayants]

[Excerpt] [Ptashnikov] Greetings, comrades. As you probably know, a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held in Moscow, and it was addressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. A considerable part of his speech was devoted to the most topical problems of the contemporary international situation. This speech aroused very great interest. One can see this if only from the many reports and commentaries carried by foreign news agencies and other media.

I am sure that you, too, esteemed listeners, or at any event, those of you already acquainted with Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech, have already formed your opinion about it, and it is very likely that certain questions might spring to mind. So, as it were, in anticipation of your letters with such questions, I have asked political observer Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin to comment on the most important aspects of Comrade Gorbachev's speech. Nikolay Vladimirovich, please:

[Shishlin] Of course, the attention of everyone interested in politics is now attracted to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the plenum of the party Central Committee. In the West, naturally, more attention is being paid to the international section of that speech, although it seems to me that what one could provisionally call the internal section of the speech is most immediately and directly related to our party's foreign policy course. It is also most directly related to how our international policy will look tomorrow and the day after. This is because the international policy of the CPSU is organically linked with all actions taking place within the country and with the whole process of the intensifying revolutionary renewal of society.

I admit that questions are very often asked in the West: How fundamental is Soviet restructuring? How far will the CPSU leadership go? How far will the USSR go in its renewal of all aspects of social life? There is room for doubts and distrust and all sorts of other opinions. I think the work of the Party Central Committee plenum and the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev provide a quite definite answer—the line that the USSR is striving to open up all the opportunities contained within the socialist social structure, the line laid down by the April plenum of the party Central Committee, is gathering strength, gathering new depth, new scale, and new dimensions. From this viewpoint both the work of the party Central Committee plenum, the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the lively discussions which took place at the Central Committee plenum, and the very question discussed at the plenum—all this shows that the changes which have already entered the life of Soviet society are becoming irreversible. These changes are serious and are here to stay, and the slogan, "More socialism, more democracy," is adopting a practical, specific, and tangible form. It is on the basis of precisely the in-depth reforms in the internal policy of our party that the essentially radical changes are being implemented in our foreign policy course.

Mikhail Sergeyevich is a thousand times right when he says that now our foreign policy is not just some sort of assemblage or chain of improvisations, responses, replies, and reactions to actions by the West but that foreign policy is now a reflection of that integral concept of the affirmation of universal peace and international security, a concept adopted by the 27th Party Congress. I think, all the same, that the main thing here is to see that, as the idea of affirming the new thinking in international politics is now in essence under its own strength growing deeper, to see to what extent the assessment of what has been achieved is comparable with what has actually been done. In this case, it is not just evidence of political modesty when it is stated that the concept of new political thinking is still in the formative stage, that it needs further elaboration and development, etc.

We see this reflected in the report itself. It is the important idea of the need to seek a balance of interests. It is not a new idea but one which is now being complemented in practice by the moving to the fore not only of the problem of limiting and curbing the arms race, not only of problems connected with relations between the United States and the West European states, but also of problems with our other bourgeois neighbors. However, this is accompanied by a moving to the fore of such questions as affirmation of a new and just international economic order, paying of absolute attention to the problems of the developing states, and the most consistent and practical attention to the tasks of overcoming regional conflicts, an example of which is the Soviet approach to the Afghan problem.

As we have already said, there will be more detailed discussion on that topic rather later. It seems to me extremely valuable that further theoretical elaboration is taking place with regard to the foreign policy program that has already been formed in practice. I think that Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech at the plenum is to a certain extent a new step in the elaboration of those theses first formulated in his report, "The Revolution Continues," devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. I mean the idea of a world without militarism; I mean the idea of those changes taking place not only in our country, not only in the interrelationship of world forces, but also in such structures as were previously perceived by us as having a single and absolute meaning; I mean bourgeois society; I mean imperialism; I mean the capitalist system.

In general, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech, and in this case, this is not simply a routine phrase, needs deep interpretation. It does not decree various theses; it does not formulate some sort of absolute sacred truths for all time. It is, however, a very serious appeal for very deep thinking, an example of such thinking is the speech itself, which has the most specific, most practical solutions for all key problems now at the center of international life.

I think that this approach, to tell the truth, is a reply to the rather complicated processes taking place in the world public's frame of mind, to those complicated manifestations which mark the political positions of the West European states, the United States, and Japan. This reply shows that the USSR really sees the complicated nature of contemporary international development. The USSR does not oversimplify the essence of those issues that await a solution. At the same time, the USSR is really fully resolved to follow the road mapped out by the party's 27th congress and will not be pushed aside from this line of affirming a system of universal security, of affirming a system of unversal peace by those steps, actions, and deeds which are undertaken precisely in order to put a stop to this process of radically improving international relations.

In response to the consolidation of the extreme right-wing forces, in response to their sallies, the USSR steps up its actions aimed at consolidating peace. I think that this is the most considerable and most important thing contained in the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with regard to its foreign policy section.

[Ptashnikov] Thank you, Nikolay Vladimirovich. You mentioned the thorough discussion about Afghanistan. It is to this that I would now like to move on, since today's post, as always, contains many letters with questions on this topic. The problem of ending the many years of undeclared war in this country worries Soviet people. Yakov Tikhonovich Makarov, a listener from the village of Krivozerye in Penza Oblast, points out that many fratricidal wars arise on a communal-religious basis. Instead of defusing them, capitalist countries, on the contrary, make every effort to whip them up by helping one of the side with arms or money; in this way, real military conflagrations flare up. Often several countries at once are drawn into them, and as a result the world is faced with regional conflicts. Nicaragua, the Middle East, Cambodia, and Afghanistan—this is a far from complete list of such explosive and very persistent hotbeds which at any moment could develop into a world catastrophe, notes the author of the letter, and concludes that regional conflicts can be settled in two ways.

First, the people themselves should be given the opportunity to resolve their internal matters and problems. Second, certain leaders of capitalist countries should give up their outdated, stereotyped ways of thinking; that is, they should become seriously involved in disarmament and stop being hypocritical about the settlement of regional conflicts. It is essential that they be realistically and practically defused.

This same view is held by a Comrade Chuiko from Saransk, who lives on Marina Raskova Street. In particular, she notes: I do not understand the logic of the actions of the U.S. Administration: to agree, on one hand, to sign with us a treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which to be quite honest, I personally did not really believe possible, and on the other hand, to continue to render so-called humane aid to the Nicaraguan contras and the Afghan dushmans. For me, she writes, there is a very strange contradiction in this. It turns out that with one hand they are for peace, but with the other, they are for war. Vasiliy Yefimovich Khurbatov, a listener from the village of Novye Malynichi, Checherskiy Rayon, Belorussia, expresses a similar opinion and asks this question, specifically: When will there be peace and calm in the planet's hot spots, in particular, in Afghanistan, and how will the situation develop there? I handed all these letters to my colleague, Vladimir Fadeyev, with the request that he comment on their content and reply to the questions asked in them.

[Fadeyev] I agree with the general conclusions and comments that Yakov Tikhovich Makarov expressed in his letter about the actual mechanism of the beginning of regional conflicts. I share his fear that any of them could detonate a world catastrophe. But I believe that it is necessary for the entire world community to collectively defuse regional conflicts, regardless of what contribution the imperialist powers have made to expanding them, and of course, only through political means. Otherwise, as has happened until recently, states, their politicians and diplomats, exert great efforts on mutual reproaches, complaints and confrontation, which only complicate, confuse, and delay the practical resolution of problems on which the termination of conflicts depends.

As for Afghanistan, over a year ago its leadership began an intensive search for ways to end the bloody war in the country. The policy of national reconciliation, which apart from containing certain mutually advantageous terms for the enemy sides, also resolves the most important thing. The main question of reconciliation is the sharing of political power by means of establishing a coalition government. Our radio listeners are informed that in bodies of local authority and self-government in many provinces, districts, and villages of Afghanistan, members of the PDPA, nonparty members, and those who have laid down their arms and stopped their armed struggle against their own people, work together, side by side. The present government is also conducting talks with many commanders of rebel formations inside the country about their participation in the governing of the country by coalition.

In short, this process is being expanded and intensified and is creating internal opportunities for the establishment of peace. This is all very clearly dealt with in the recent statement by Afghanistan's President Najibullah. Much is also now being done, especially during the last 2 years, toward advancing the Afghan-Pakistan talks in Geneva.

Finally, and extremely important, a supremely constructive statement on Afghanistan has been made by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. This statement is not only an example of the new political thinking manifested in the resolution of this extremely complicated situation—there is no way one can call the situation in Afghanistan simple. This is also an answer to what are for many people sore and worrying subjects; it is a document which destroys doubts and inspires hope. It is, however, also a political challenge to those forces and governments who are now required to prove not in words but in deeds whether they want to go halfway towards a peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem or whether they will rush to search for new obstacles and reservations hindering the return of Soviet soldiers to their country. I would like to note that the clock has been started in the concluding round of the settlement of one of the most severe and painful regional conflicts, as the general secretary of our party described it.

Now it is not the kind of situation for one of the sides involved in the conflict to try to drag out the signing of peace agreements, stipulate new terms, or occupy a temporising stance, as has just been shown during the visit to our country by Geoffrey Howe, the British foreign secretary. Perhaps it is not customary to criticize guests, what is more after they have left, but one cannot help noting that every time Britain's stance on Afghanistan was brought up, Geoffrey Howe resorted to vague formulae. But from our side, the West would like, in his words, to see both confirmation of the good intentions with respect to Afghanistan and decisive tests of our new thinking capable of having real use, and so on. In other words, here is a departure from the collective resolution of a complex problem, a peculiar game with one goal.

So the anxiety of our listeners over the development of the situation in Afghanistan is understandable. We, for our part, have already named the date for the withdrawal of our troops, and stressed that this withdrawal is under no circumstances connected with the establishment in the country of a new coalition government. Moreover, we are sure that internal Afghan problems will be more easily solved by the Afghans themselves after external factors have fallen away, above all, the curtailment of aid to the Afghan rebels. Washington, on the other hand, having originally agreed with this obligation, now seems to be beginning to depart from it. Right-wing forces in the U.S. Administration assert that the President, has allegedly heard nothing of this formulation of the question.

Supposedly it was not agreed with him, and it should be regarded as erroneous and the obligation as foolhardy. In the view of THE NEW YORK TIMES, Soviet peace initiatives on the whole are unacceptable to the alliance of the seven leaders of the main opposition groups. Why unacceptable? Formally, as they have declared, because they do not wish to share power with the People's Democratic Party. But in actual fact, they simply intend to continue the bloodshed, both during and after the withdrawal of our troops, because the war in Afghanistan brings them enormous profits. Thus, they put forward their unpardonable and insolent ultimatums, knowing in advance that they will not be accepted either by the Afghan or the Soviet side. Indeed, can one really regard as serious and constructive the demand of the opposition to set up a coalition Afghan Government not in Kabul but in Islamabad? It looks as though the Pakistani militarized circles in power also have an interest in the war's continuation. This allows them to make a lot of money from trading arms. We will all soon see which stance will prevail at the Geneva talks in March—the obstructionist one, or common sense. So today I think, Comrade Khurbatov, it is still too early to definitely predict any development of the situation in Afghanistan. Let us instead wish the forthcoming talks success in their final stage.

As for the persistence, as you write, of regional conflicts, one can say with certainty that the experience of implementing a policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan may stand us in good stead for settling regional conflicts in other regions. There is no coincidence about the immense interest which Afghanistan and its experience is now provoking in other countries and peoples. [passage omitted]

'Top Priority' on Disarmament, Afghanistan

LD201847 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 20 Feb 88

[The "Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov with Profesors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov]

[Excerpts] [Kuznetsov] Gentlemen, we have a pretty crowded schedule as I invite you to discuss a number of topics; namely, Afghanistan and strategic arms cuts. These are some of the key issues to be up for discussion between Soviet leaders and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

The Shultz visit, which is due to begin on Sunday, takes place against the background of very intensive political activity in the past week or two. The events that preceded the visit, the Shultz visit I mean, are another round of ratification hearings on the INF Treaty both here and in the United States, the recent trip here by the British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and his talks with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, of course the beginning of primaries in America that are going to keep the country busy for a long time...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Pavel, wait a minute. I'm sorry. This is a bag of events, I'm sorry to say it's too big a bag, do you mean that we should make kind of a panoramic review of the events, after all we are, I'm sorry to say, very serious people, we are not ready just to...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Professor Bogdanov, everybody, by this time, everybody knows that you gentlemen are very serious people. I'm giving you the background, and it's up to you to discuss either all of them or concentrate or focus on one of these events.

[Bogdanov] I meant, you might, you might have some special meaning, maybe you have some special design for (?this) "Top Priority."

[Kuznetsov] No, no, no special designs. Of course another major event, I continue along my line, is the full, the 2-day full scale meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee and the two reports that we heard, don't you agree it's an important event?

[Bogdanov] Yes I do agree, but all these events by their importance are to be discussed separately, item by item, don't you think so, Sergey? They're so important that how we can...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Yes, that's, that's a big schedule, the...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] That's a big schedule. The [word indistinct] Central Committee meeting and Gorbachev's speech. Yes, this is events of major importance and you want us just to...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] No, no, at the other, on the other hand, you realize that we cannot have "Top Priority" every day. Afghanistan, I think you would agree with me that Afghanistan is one of the topical issues today, and it was covered, our position, I mean, was covered in Mikhail Gorbachev's recent statement, and also he reiterated, reaffirmed our position in his address to the plenary session of the Communist Party Central Committee on Thursday. And I would like one of you to start the ball rolling, although it's been rolling for some time already, with Afghanistan, and could you please briefly enumerate the most important points of our position on this problem. Professor Plekhanov, please.

[Plekhanov] Well, the Gorbachev statement was meant to clarify the Soviet position on the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. The talks on a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan are nearing completion. The United Nations-sponsored talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan are—the last session of those talks is to be held in Geneva in early March. And the big if, the big question, the big issue that was somewhat breaking the completion of the talks was the question of Soviet troops, and what Gorbachev did was clarify completely our intentions and plans in this area. [passage omitted]

[Kuznetsov] And I also hear that this withdrawal may be what is now known as frontloaded.

[Plekhanov] Yeah, frontloaded, yeah. That was an important issue. That means that the bulk of Soviet combat troops are to be withdrawn at the first stages, so that to create greater confidence that we are not to meddle...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] But I understand that will depend on the domestic situation, on how constructive those rebels are if they are not up to some kind of a butchery.

[Plekhanov] I don't know. That was not included in the statement. But I think the position of the rebels is an important factor anyway. If they do not want to join into a settlement that would complicate things.

[Bogdanov] A very short comment, a very short comment. I'm afraid that people at the American end and at some other capitals were not ready for our statement.

[Plekhanov] Oh, sure!

[Kuznetsov] Especially for the pullout date.

[Bogdanov] Especially for the pullout of our troops. Just, I would like to remind our listeners, all this hue and cry about Soviet troops fighting in Afghanistan, when we have a schedule, fixed dates, they, they are, my impression is they are just not ready because they thought it was just a propaganda invented by, invented by themselves. Now when it comes through, they don't believe that because they are victims of their own propaganda. But I think it's very dangerous; it's very dangerous because there are some very, very alarming, if you like, alarming signs of dragging on, or trying to drag on the solution of that problem.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, in his statement, Mikhail Gorbachev even said that their position on our, on the Afghan settlement, is going to be kind of a litmus test of their sincerity.

[Bogdanov] Yes, exactly. And I have a suspicion that the nearer the date of the withdrawal, more artificial conditions will be, will be put by the left, by the so-called muj...muj...

[Kuznetsov] Mujahidin, just call them rebels.

[Bogdanov] Rebels, rebels, just to... [changes thought] Because to my, to my belief they are not interested.

[Kuznetsov] Let's wait and see what turns out of those talks. And now I suggest that we go from Afghanistan to Geneva and take a look at strategic arms cuts.

According to the latest reports from Geneva, Soviet and American negotiators are not working on those 50-percent cuts against any deadline to meet President Reagan's visit to Moscow this year, and the latest word has it that this visit could take place even in the absence of a specific accord on strategic arms cuts. So this is, in my view, an indication of how serious some of the problems are, and I would like one of you to, at least enumerate some of those problems. Obviously SDI is in the picture. Would you agree, Professor Bogdanov?

[Bogdanov] Yes, I would agree with that, but let me say that really it's a very, very important problem by itself, the 50-percent cut of strategic weapons. It's such a huge problem, such a tricky problem. You have all the, all, all the intricacies of the arms control in one basket. First of all, verification, verification problems. Nobody's in a hurry, though you may think that the agreement is possible by the date of the visit of the President, but it doesn't mean that you are in such a hurry that you would die to have that agreement. It's too important, and it's too responsible for both sides that they are in a hurry.

[Kuznetsov] What are some of the specifics around this issue? In the first place as I understand it, we are not making SDI conditional on strategic arms cuts, but on the other hand we cannot, I cannot see ourselves, our country, agreeing to some kind of a transition period from adherence to the ABM Treaty and then with time to a free-for-all in outer space. And this seem to be the American position right now. Let's sign this treaty with the Soviets, forget for the time being about SDI, but once the treaty is signed, let's go ahead with the SDI, the Strategic Defense Initiative, step by step.

[Bogdanov] It makes the whole thing very difficult, and it makes the whole American position really suspicious, you know. What they are up to? Do they want 50-percent cut as a cover for deploying SDI? If it is so, I'm afraid, I'm afraid we cannot expect any breakthrough.

[Kuznetsov] There is another sticking point out there in Geneva, and it deals with, I understand, with sea-launched cruise missiles with conventional warheads. We've been accused of squandering precious time because we proposed to limit the number of such missiles, and one of the critics was an Edward Rowny, the President's special advisor on arms control. What is...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Well, SLCMS [submarine launched cruise missile system] is a very sticky issue because you can't distinguish between a sea-launch cruise missile, or a SLCM, which is armed with a conventional warhead, from the one which is armed with a nuclear warhead. So you can surreptitiously violate a limit or a ban on certain kinds of nuclear weapons by putting the nuclear warheads on ostensibly conventional-armed SLCMS. What's more, SLCMS are dangerous because they can be moved very close to the borders of the other side, because they are deployed on ships, and in fact a couple of years ago the Pentagon, it turns out, has had a military exercise...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Yeah, I have a report on that exercise in front of me. It was written by Richard Halloran, and the report is dated 12th June 1987, and it says, excuse me, Professor Plekhanov, I'd like to quote a little bit from that report:

During a voyage off the Soviet Union's east coast last year, that is in 1986, the Battleship "New Jersey" and other ships simulated launching more than 300 cruise missiles at Soviet targets. With computers and crew drills, the battle group pretended to fire at the aircraft carrier "Minsk" and 26 other warships, at Soviet ports and airfields on the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, the Bering Sea, and at command posts, communications centers and munitions depots well inland.

And then the report says officers in the "New Jersey" battle group reported to Washington that they believed the Russians never detected their ships and had the launchings been real, they, that is the Russians, would never have known what had hit them. How do you like this drill off the Soviet Union's shores?

[Plekhanov] I'm kind of amused by this latest phrase that they reported to Washington that they were not detected by the Russians. I mean, I can't believe that...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Just as well they were detected. This is one of the reasons why we raised this issue at Geneva.

[Plekhanov] Maybe, but anyway this is serious, and I can understand why Edward Rowny is now browbeating our staff on this, so don't waste time on it and so on, because Edward Rowny has always been kind of super-hawkish on these problems, so I'm not surprised.

[Bogdanov] And my impression is that his position is getting strengthened. I don't know why.

[Plekhanov] Yes, I'm afraid so. There were reports in the American news media that recently President Reagan received a letter from the Joint Chiefs of Staff asking him to backtrack from the position which the President adopted during the summit in Washington, the position according to which the ABM Treaty of 1972 is to be observed by both sides as it was signed in 1972. Now what the Joint Chiefs asked the President to do was to reopen the issue of broad interpretation. In fact they were telling the President: Mr President, press the Russians on the broad interpretation, demand from them to agree on a...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] I understand that President Reagan...

[Plekhanov] And that has resulted in a hardening of the American position [word indistinct].

[Kuznetsov] But I understand that the President Reagan, the Reagan administration has pledged to the Senate to stick to the traditional or restrictive interpretation of the ABM Treaty to secure ratification of the INF Treaty.

[Bogdanov] Pavel, nowadays you have such complex relations between the Congress and the administration, and it's such a play between them that for us laypeople in Moscow, you can imagine how it is difficult to find out the truth.

[Kuznetsov] You don't think, I don't think you are a layman. Allow me to disagree because you belong to the prestigious think-tank; you've got to watch all those developments closely.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, but I'm still a layman and I'm very (?modest). My friend Sergey, we are modest people, and we don't exaggerate.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, I know you're modest.

[Bogdanov] You know, but what I would like to be on the record, how difficult it is, you know, and how cautious we should be nowadays in taking final judgement on the Americans. [as heard]

[Kuznetsov] Okay, gentlemen, let's change our subjects a little bit, and let me ask you this question. Now after the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary, I understand that your sights are trained on George Bush and Michael Dukakis because the story has it that whoever wins the New Hampshire primary is going to be President of the United States, so will you agree that...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Mine, mine is different, Pavel. I'm still siding on Senator Dole and somebody else, but not Dukakis from the Democratic side.

[Kuznetsov] What is your assessment?

[Bogdanov] Pavel, I'm sorry, before Sergey talks. I prefer to answer your questions of this kind after 8th March.

[Kuznetsov] Super Tuesday.

[Bogdanov] Super Tuesday, okay, that's very (?preliminary).

[Kuznetsov] All right, do you agree with that?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think that the fact that Bush won in New Hampshire certainly has strengthened his candidacy, and I think that it is quite possible that he will emerge as the nominee. As far as the Democrats are concerned, I think that what we are witnessing is a continuation of that split between the various factions of the party, and various sections of the party, which has plagued the Democrats in recent years. I don't think we've seen the emergence of the real candidate yet.

[Bogdanov] Pavel, I suggest we come back to that, to that very important point after 8th March. Let's promise our listeners...

[Kuznetsov] Okay now, that's agreed, okay. As time is running out on us, let me conclude our program on this note, perhaps not very optimistic. You mentioned a couple of times on this program that there is some hardening of the American position, and on my mind in this connection is this incident with the so-called innocent, or free-passage by two American warships, the "Yorktown" and the "Caron," through our territorial waters off the Crimean Peninsula in the Black Sea. Was it a harbinger of, an omen of certain things to come, that we could expect some hardening (?events)?

[Bogdanov] This is a double signal from the American Administration. One is to us: Guys, we are tough as you; and the other one, for their own people at the American end: We are tough with the Russians—don't worry.

[Kuznetsov] Okay, what is your assessment, Professor Plekhanov, before we close up our, wrap up our...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Well, in recent years, every important negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, every important meeting of the top leaders was preceded by some kind of incident. And some of the incidents even have scuttled important meetings, so this is not surprising. There are people who are plotting against improvement in Soviet-American...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] They are professional plotters.

[Kuznetsov] Okay, but since our time is up, let me voice my personal hope that the Shultz visit here and the talks with our leaders, with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, and of course with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, will be helpful, will be instrumental in somewhat defusing the current situation. I'm not trying to present it as a crisis, as a major crisis in Soviet-American relations, God forbid, but I'd like some improvements out of, I'd like to see some improvements coming out of this Shultz, of the Mr. Shultz visit to the Soviet Union; and on this note, I'm Pavel Kuznetsov signing off, thanking all of you on behalf of "Top Priority." Goodbye, till next week at the same time.

Briefs

Civil Air Agreements

Moscow February 19 TASS—The instrument of the Soviet Union's accession to the convention on crimes and some other acts perpetrated on board air ships of September 14, 1963 and the instrument of the ratification by the Soviet Union of the protocol concerning a change in the convention on international civil aviation, which was signed in Montreal on October 6, 1980, have been deposited with the secretary general of the International Civil Aviation Organization. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 19 Feb 88 LD*]

United States & Canada

Shultz Holds Pretravel Meeting With Reagan

LD192142 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Washington February 19 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz met with President Reagan in the White House today. It was reported that the meeting covered details of the forthcoming talks to be held by Shultz in Moscow. The U.S. secretary of state is leaving Washington at 15:00 local time. On his way Shultz, as a spokesman for the U.S. State Department said, will make a stopover in Helsinki on February 20 and then arrive in Moscow.

The talks in Moscow will centre on preparation for a new Soviet-American summit meeting scheduled to be held in the Soviet capital later this year, and prospects for concluding a Soviet-American agreement on a 50 percent cut in the strategic nuclear arsenals of the sides. Judging by pronouncements by high-ranking representatives of the administration, the USA views the meeting also as a means of "maintaining the American-Soviet dialogue" on broad international issues.

Shultz Begins Trip to Helsinki, Moscow

Arrives in Finland

LD200838 Mocow TASS in English 0755 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Helsinki February 20 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz arrived in the Finnish capital today. During his one-day stay in Finland he will meet with the country's President Mauno Koivisto.

Subsequently George Shultz will go to Moscow where in accordance with the arrangement made, he will have a meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR.

The U.S. Secretary of state is being accompanied in the tour by a large group of disarmament experts.

Meets With Koivisto

LD201856 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Helsinki February 20 TASS—U.S. State Secretary George Shultz gave a press conference here. He arrived in the Finnish capital today enroute to Moscow where under the accord reached he will meet Eduard Shevardnadze.

Responding to questions by journalists, Shultz emphasized that many topics would be discussed with the Soviet side.

On the same day, Shultz was received by President Mauno Koivisto of Finland. During the conversation held they considered pressing issues of international politics in the field of disarmament, bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations and also regional problems.

U.S. Hopes From Moscow Talks

LD191339 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Washington February 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

Meetings between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz have always played an important role in securing headway at negotiations between the two countries on central issues.

They have injected new energy into the talks and in Washington it is hoped that this will be the case as a result of the forthcoming get-together of the Soviet and U.S. chief diplomats as well.

This is the gist of Department of State comments on the significance of the meeting which is to take place at the end of the week.

A high-ranking State Department official has said that the American side views it as an opportunity to discuss a whole number of issues, both those related to bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations and those of a broader nature.

The progress of preparations for the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit will be among the main items to be discussed at the meeting.

What is the principal objective of the summit, as seen in Washington at this phase? There is no specific single opinion as yet, judging, at any rate, by remarks by officials.

Judging, again, by remarks by local officials, however, the principal objective stems from the tasks the foreign minister and the secretary of state are to discuss.

The central task is to consolidate and further progress in arms control, which has been given a powerful impulse by the signature of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range missiles during last year's summit in Washington.

Today the talks are directly dealing with the issue of drastic—50-percent—cuts in strategic offensive arms.

At the Department of State they draw attention to the fact that general agreement in principle on this score was reached way back during the Reykjavik meeting and carried further in Washington last December.

The State Department believes however, that progress in this area, just like in other fields, has since slowed down. In official circles in Washington they see the causes behind the slowdown in the complexity of a multitude of verification-related problems, the difficulties of counting, and so forth.

But has the slowdown really been due to all this? It is, after all, known well that the Soviet Union has expressed determined readiness to agree to radical cuts in strategic arms under stringent and all-embracing verification on the single indispensable condition that both sides should make the firm commitment to observe the ABM Treaty strictly.

The American side, although it has demonstrated understanding for this approach at the Washington summit and even found it acceptable, is now clearly attempting to shift.

It is indicative that at official briefings in the U.S. capital on the forthcoming meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state the ABM Treaty has not been mentioned at all.

By contrast, much has been said about the U.S. resolve to forge ahead with developing various systems under the "Star Wars" program whose implementation, in the opinion of most authoritative, including American, experts, will inevitably remove all possibilities for any radical cuts in strategic arms.

Moreover, it will lead to a dramatic new round of the arms race spilling over into outer space.

One cannot but ask this question: Why has the U.S. side, while persistently declaring readiness to advance the process of reducing nuclear arms, been paying so much attention, in practice rather than in words, to the so-called modernizing of tactical nuclear weapons which will remain in Europe after the fulfilment of the INF Treaty?

In Washington they cite concern in allied West European countries which are allegedly afraid of "being left defenseless".

However, that kind of concern has not been expressed, for example, by West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl who is now on a working visit in Washington.

On the contrary, he is reported in his meetings with U.S. leaders to have urged cuts in tactical nuclear arms rather than their modernization.

Will it prove possible to make progress in resolving these and other problems at the Moscow meeting? Experience demonstrates that despite all the difficulties, the political will for agreement can secure such progress.

Can it be hoped that this will happen this time as well? The immediate future will show.

Shultz Arrives in Moscow

LD210724 Moscow TASS in English 0723 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has arrived in Moscow in accordance with the agreement reached earlier.

He is accompanied by Colin Powell, deputy assistant to the President for national security affairs.

Met by Vorontsov, Dubinin

LD210908 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0825 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow. 21 Feb (TASS)—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has arrived here on a visit as a guest of the Soviet Government. He was met at the airport by Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR; Yuriy Dubinin, ambassador of the USSR to the United States; and other officials.

Talks With Shevardnadze Open

LD210910 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—Soviet-American talks started here today. From the American side the talks are attended by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Colin Powell, deputy assistant to the President for national security affairs, who arrived in Moscow in accordance with the existing agreement.

Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and George Shultz had a short conversation. Then the first plenary session was started with the participation of officials and experts from both countries.

The talks are expected to last till late at night.

'Substantive' Discussion Held

LD211726 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—A Tass diplomatic correspondent reports:

A substantive and businesslike discussion which was held today between Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who had arrived in Moscow in accordance with the existing arrangement, centered on matters arising from the accords reached as a result of the summit meeting in Washington and first of all ways to utilize the potential created by the talks between Mikhail

Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan of the United States for headway on central issues of Soviet-U.S. relations.

These are the strengthening of security, further reductions in nuclear arms, and consolidation of the regime of the ABM Treaty. The two sides reaffirmed intentions to act towards embodying the potential in specific accords.

Practical achievements in these fields can give a steady character to further development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The exchange of opinions about the process of ratification in both countries of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, signed by the leaders of the USSR and the USA, proceeded with the awareness of the importance of its coming into force for the prospects of deeper cuts in nuclear arsenals. Having confirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to reach new arrangements on nuclear arms reduction, the Soviet side pointed out that the plans for the "compensation" for the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles by the build-up of the United States and NATO armaments in Europe and around Europe are incompatible with the positive tendencies toward the consolidation of European security, a strong impetus to whose development has been given by the signing of the treaty on intermediate-range ahd shorter-range missiles.

Both sides declared for the intensification of the effort to conclude the drafting of the treaty on 50-per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the USA, as well as the arrangement on the observance of the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972. The striving was confirmed to be working out the treaty in such a way that it could be signed during the next meeting of the leaders of the two countries in the first half of the current year in Moscow. The sides pointed to the mutual awareness of the importance of the advance in the military-political area both for the improvement of the international situation within a broad context and for Soviet-American relations.

Mutual satisfaction was expressed over the course of the talks on nuclear tests and results of mutual visits of experts of the USSR and the USA to the ranges in Nevada and in the Semipalatinsk area as important steps towards creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence. Concrete recommendations for speeding up work in this area were worked out.

The Soviet side expressed serious concern in connection with the beginning of the implementation of the program of the United States binary chemical rearmament. The Soviet side noted that such actions are incompatibale with the progress achieved in the work on a convention on the comprehensive banning of chemical weapons at the Geneva conference on disarmament. Concrete measures were proposed to overcome an impasse at the talks on comprehensive banning of chemical weapons.

The state of affairs with the working out of a mandate for the talks of the Warsaw Treaty-countries and NATO countries on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe was analysed.

During an exchange of views on regional issues and first of all the Middle East, the Iran-Iraq conflict, and Afghanistan, the sides considered new elements that had appeared in the development of the situation in individual regions, reaffirming the understanding recorded in the joint statement at summit level that the purpose of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States on these issues should consist in helping in the search for peaceful solutions.

When discussing the situation in Afghanistan, Eduard Shevardnadze informed the U.S. secretary of state of the joint decision of the Governments of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan to set a specific date for the withdrawal of Soviet troops—May 15, 1988—and to complete the withdrawal within ten months. The Soviet side emphasized that the date was set proceeding from the assumption that agreements on a settlement would be signed not later than March 15, 1988. This, however, is possible only provided all the parties interested in settling the conflict show goodwill and responsibility.

Other topical international issues were considered as well.

The two foreign ministers formed joint working groups of experts who were instructed to discuss additional technical aspects of the problems which are the subject of the talks.

The Soviet-U.S. talks will be continued at 20.00, Moscow time.

A joint Soviet-U.S. briefing is to begin at the Press Centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs at 20.00, Moscow time. The briefing will be held by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the ministry, and Charles Redman, U.S. assistant secretary of state for public relations.

Shevardnadze Hosts Luncheon

LD211217 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—Foreign Minister of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze today gave a luncheon in honour of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. George Shultz arrived in Moscow today in line with a mutual accord for negotiations.

Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz exchanged brief speeches during the luncheon.

Nikonov, Dobrynin, Kamentsev Attend

LD211943 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze gave a luncheon in honor of George Shultz and those accompanying him, at which brief speeches were exchanged. Present at the luncheon were: Comrades Nikonov, Dobrynin, Voss, Kamentsev, Zakharov, Katushev, Kotlyar, and Marchuk, and participants in the talks from the Soviet and U.S. sides.

Gerasimov, Redman Brief Press

LD212038 Moscow TASS in English 2017 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

The current meeting between USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz is the logical follow-up to the Washington summit and is called upon to step up the preparation for the Moscow summit. Chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Gennadiy Gerasimov and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs Charles Redman were unanimous in this view. They held here today a joint briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry and summed up the first day of the Soviet-American talks.

The ministers agreed that the atmosphere was excellent throughout the talks today and that they were businesslike and both agreed that good progress was made on a whole range of issues, Charles Redman said.

At the start of the talks the sides agreed that it would be useful to conclude the work by adopting a concise generalized document or statement, the persons in charge of the briefing noted.

Arab journalists who were present at the briefing asked the U.S. spokesman a number of questions concerning the human rights situation in the Israel-occupied Arab territories where the blood of innocent people is spilled owing to the genocide policy being pursued by Tel Aviv against the Arabs, and where crimes against the Palestinian people are perpetrated.

Charles Redman evaded an answer to these questions.

Responding to Western journalists' request to comment on the fact of the meeting between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Academician Andrey Sakharov, the spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that, although the meeting had not been planned in the official programme of the U.S. secretary of state, "any guest staying in Moscow may meet and converse in his or her spare time with anyone he or she wishes. This is his or her right."

Of course, journalists wanted to get to know more specific details about the course of the talks. However, the persons in charge of the briefing emphasized that it was too early to sum up any results, for the Soviet-U.S. February dialogue in Moscow at foreign ministers' level was still going on, and the more so as the central event of the visit—a meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and George Shultz would be held tomorrow, on Monday.

Further on Briefing

LD212141 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] A joint briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists devoted to the start of the Soviet-U.S. talks was held today at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center by Gerasimov, chief of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and Redman, official representative of the U.S. State Department.

Addressing those who had gathered, Comrade Gerasimov said

[Begin Gerasimov recording] Soviet-U.S. talks began today at the level of foreign affairs ministers. In our view they started in a good, businesslike spirit of substantive discussion of questions springing from the accords reached as a result of the summit in Washington. In our view these are, first of all, ways of realizing the potential created by the talks between Comrade Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan for making headway on central issues of Soviet-U.S. relations: the strengthening of security, further reductions in nuclear arms, consolidation of the regime of the ABM Treaty, things that were discussed in Washington. Both sides reaffirmed their intention to act toward embodying this potential in specific accords. Practical achievements in these fields are capable of imparting a steady nature to the further development of relations between our countries.

There was an exchange of view regarding the process of ratification in both countries of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, signed by the leaders of the USSR and the United States. This exchange of views takes place with the awareness of the importance of this treaty coming into force for the prospects of deeper cuts in nuclear arsenals. We confirmed our readiness to reach new accords on nuclear arms reduction, also pointing out that the plans for the compensation for the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles by the build-up of NATO armaments in Europe and around Europe are incompatible with the positive tendencies toward the consolidation of European security.

Both sides spoke for stepping up efforts to conclude the drafting of the treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms between the USSR and the United States, as well as the accord on the observance of the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972. It was confirmed at the talks

that the treaty should be drafted in such a way that it can be signed during the next meeting of the leaders of the two countries in Moscow in the first half of the current year.

Satisfaction was expressed with progress in the talks on nuclear tests and and on the result of the mutual visits of experts of the USSR and United States to testing ranges in Nevada and in the Semipalatinsk area as important steps toward creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence. [end recording]

Spokesman for the U.S. State Department Redman acquainted journalists with the questions which were discussed at the talks and said that Secretary of State Shultz and USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze had agreed without hesitation that the atmosphere at the talks was excellent, that the talks were businesslike, and that good progress had been achieved on the entire range of questions discussed.

At the briefing the spokesmen of the Soviet and U.S. sides replied to journalists' questions.

Notes on Fishing Exchanged

LD210947 Moscow TASS in English 0938 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—Notes on fishing have been exchanged today by Foreign Minister of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

This is a Soviet-American accord on the right being granted to the American side to carry out fishing in the USSR's economic zone in far eastern seas. Soviet fishing in the U.S. economic zone has been under way since 1976 in accordance with the relevant inter-governmental agreement on fishing off the U.S. coast.

Fishing, Space Accords Praised

LD211150 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz exchanged notes on fishing today.

Speaking after the signing of the notes, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz described the documents as an example of progress in Soviet-American trade relations, specifically in the sphere of fishing.

Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze positively assessed the documents and pointed out that several major agreements had been concluded by the USSR and the U.S. recently. "All of them are significant, but I should like to make special mention of the one that we signed last April in Moscow—the agreement on cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes", Shevardnadze said.

The exchange of the notes was the expression of the Soviet-American agreement on the granting of the fishing right to U.S. fishermen in the Soviet economic zone of the Far Eastern seas. The USSR has engaged in fishing in the U.S. economic zone since 1976 within the framework of a corresponding intergovernmental agreement on fishing off the U.S. coast.

Ryzhkov Talks With Shultz

LD220714 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz held a conversation in the Kremlin today.

By mutual agreement, Shultz arrived in Moscow Sunday morning and had a day of intense talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Gorbachev, Shultz Begin Talks

LD221003 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 22 Feb 88

["Urgent—Gorbachev and Shultz Begin Meeting"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz began a meeting in the Kremlin today.

By mutual agreement, U.S. secretary of state has arrived in the Soviet Union to continue Soviet-American dialogue.

At 11:00 sharp (Moscow time) the Catherine's Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace was entered from different sides by Mikhail Gorbachev together with other Soviet negotiators and George Shultz accompanied by other members of the U.S. delegation.

After shaking hands, exchanging greetings and posing for television crews and photographers, the participants in the talks sat down at the negotiating table adorned with crimson roses flown in specially from Soviet Georgia's hothouses.

Reporters put several questions to the Soviet leader. One was: "What do you see as the main task of today's talks?".

"The main task is to have a good and fruitful discussion with Mr. Shultz and his colleagues," Gorbachev replied.

He added that the meeting would cover all the more important issues on the order of the day in Soviet-American relations.

Answering an American correspondent's question about the situation regarding Afghanistan, Gorbachev said it was essential to act as had been agreed during the Washington summit, proceed to political agreements, foster an atmosphere of peace in the region, and give the Republic of Afghanistan a possibility to lead a normal, full-blooded life.

The newsmen then retired, leaving only the participants in the talks in the Catherine's Hall.

Estonian Supreme Soviet on U.S. 'Interference'

LD201126 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian1010 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Tallin, 20 Feb (TASS)—Today's newspapers in Estonia publish a statement by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of this Soviet republic in the Baltic republics in which parliamentarians appeal to the republic's population.

It states in particular that a group of U.S. senators is taking part in playing out another propagandistic farce, requesting a favorable attitude to anti-Soviet measures planned by certain groupings in Estonia. They are thereby rudely interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet people; they juggle with historical facts and express their hostility toward socialist Estonia.

Such actions, the statement asserts, can have only one political meaning: To obstruct an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations and undermine the process of nuclear disarmament. To aggravate relations between the USSR and the United States, certain circles in Washington are once again arming themselves with old methods, among them appeals marking the anniversary of the foundation of the bourgeois republic in Estonia.

The process of restructuring, which has begun in the Soviet Union, the document states, has the understanding and support of all the people. Those who cast doubt on the choice made by Estonia in 1940, when it entered the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a full member, are acting counter to the will of our people, counter to the policy of restructuring and the principles of humanism and the policy of peace. Restructuring and glasnost have roused us to take a critical look back to learn from the mistakes of the past and to give a sober appraisal of the level of development we have achieved, and have given everyone the opportunity to contemplate more deeply the strategy of renewal and to participate in the creation of the future.

At the same time we understand that the processes of renewal are not in full swing in all spheres of life. Playing on existing problems and unsolved questions, certain persons and groups have begun to use glasnost as a means of whipping up hostility between peoples living in Soviet Estonia. This applies to those groups that have emerged in Estonia which are trying to cast a shadow over Soviet Estonia and its history, and to idealize the bourgeois republic. It is at just such groups that certain circles in the West have recently been aiming with particular zeal, in widely spreading various provocative appeals.

Any group of people, be it big or small, has the right to live in the way it believes to be correct. Letters from the working people of Soviet Estonia to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the statement goes on to say, testify to the fact that the people unanimously support the course toward democratic transformations in society, the content of which was, and still is, socialism.

China

Rogachev Interviewed on PRC Relations

OW191657 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] In an interview with Bulgaria's RABOTNICHESKO DELO, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev said that the Soviet Union is willing to hold a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in Moscow, Beijing, or any other place. He described mutual goodwill as characteristic of present Soviet-Chinese relations. He emphasized that bilateral economic relations can be enhanced by establishing joint ventures and direct contacts between all Soviet republics and Chinese provinces, government departments, and enterprises.

Vorontsov, PRC Envoy Discuss Afghanistan

LD191718 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Yuliy Vorontsov received today the Ambassador of the PRC in the Soviet Union Yu Hongliang.

During the conversation the Soviet side made detailed clarifications in connection with the statement on Afghanistan made by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. It was stressed that the new Soviet peace-loving initiative opens the road to the speediest political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan which is a neighbour both of the USSR and the PRC, and creates favourable conditions for settling other crisis situations in the world.

Li Peng Welcomes Taiwan's Visitation Policy

LD171729 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Text] Beijing February 17 TASS—China will continue to seek global disarmament, general prosperity and fair solutions to regional conflicts, Li Peng, a member of the

Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and acting premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, said today.

Speaking in the house of public assemblies on the occasion of new year in accordance with the lunar calendar, he said his country's independent foreign (?policy is) to create (?an) (?international situation) favorable for the successful building of socialism in China and ensure world peace.

Emphasis in economic field this year, Li Peng said, should be on continuing reform and further stabilizing the national economy.

Despite the comparatively good situation, the national economy, he added, is still under the influence of some destabilizing factors, the most serious among which is the fast growth of prices of consumer goods, including foodstuffs. All this makes for drops in the living standard of part of the urban population.

While attaching priority to stabilizing the prices, local authorities should not resort to administrative levers alone. The prices should be determined by the situation on the market in accordance with the requirements of a market economy, Li Peng said.

He went on to say that the State Council is considering ways of compensating the population in the event of price hikes in the case of the more important kinds of products.

According to his words, accent in economic policy this year will be on increasing agricultural production, further promoting the contract system in factories, and developing the economy of seaside areas as the base for export-orientated production.

Touching on the problem of Taiwan, Li Peng said the loosening by the Taiwanese Administration of restructions on visits by islanders to the continental part of China meets the aspirations of the entire Chinese people. He expressed the hope that the leadership of Kuomintang will sustain the trend and apply further efforts for a peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

Li Peng Cited on China's Economic Goals

PM181653 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Li Peng on the PRC Economy"]

[Text] Beijing, 13 Feb—"Four important tasks remain to be resolved by China in the sphere of economic development this year," Li Peng, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and acting premier of the PRC State Council, stated when speaking at a conference on questions of introducing a system of contract responsibility at PRC state industrial enterprises.

He noted that it is essential first and foremost to stabilize prices. This is connected with the fact that recently, as a consequence of expanding the framework of market control in China's economy, prices for food products and essential industrial goods have significantly increased. In the sphere of pricing an enormous amount of work therefore remains to be done to ensure the development of the economy and create the necessary conditions for increasing the population's living standards.

Li Peng named the active development of the country's maritime regions as second in importance. He stressed that its fulfillment has "the most profound significance" for further implementing the policy of expanding ties with the outside world. The head of the PRC Government listed as other tasks for the Chinese economy those of introducing the system of contract responsibility at industrial enterprises and economizing on financial resources.

Li Peng noted that last year the state of the Chinese economy on the whole was good. The introduction of the contract was accompanied by increasing economic efficiency, assisted in the conduct of reforms at enterprises, and had a favorable effect on the reform of the entire economic system.

Dwelling on questions of production safety, he indicated that the recent major transport accidents were a great lesson. Accidents, particularly major ones, are a result of violations of discipline and the corresponding regulations. It is essential that the principle "safety is of primary importance, and priority must be given to averting accidents" is observed at all enterprises, the Chinese leader stressed.

Weekly Views U.S. Technology Export Curbs

OW161548 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] The BEIJING REVIEW weekly views the U.S. Government decision last October to ban the export of modern equipment and the transfer of complex and high technology to China as political blackmail. Everybody knows the United States took this action as a punishment for China's supply of arms to Iran. However, China has insistently denied any arms supply to Iran. Other events unfavorable to the development of Sino-U.S. relations, pointed out in the commentary of this week's BEIJING REVIEW, include the U.S. Congress position on supporting the independence of Tibet, its resolution accusing China of human rights violations in Tibet, as well as other documents. This Chinese magazine held that the impact of these instability-causing factors on the development of Sino-U.S. relations will be felt for the next 10 years or even longer.

Spring Festival Marked at Moscow Gathering
OW170917 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Excerpts] The Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, the Far East Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and the Soviet Sinologists Association jointly held an evening party in Moscow on 15 February to celebrate China's Spring Festival. Station reporter Vasilyev reports:

The evening party was held at the great hall of the Far East Research Institute. [passage omitted]

Attending the party were the chairman of the Central Executive Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society; activists of the society; representatives of Soviet youth; Chinese students and trainees studying at higher learning institutes in Moscow; (Li Fengyun), minister-counsellor at the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union; and other embassy staff.

Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Central Executive Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, addressed the gathering. He said: I wish to greet Minister-Counsellor (Li Fengyun) and the Chinese Embassy staff. I am happy to see here Chinese students and trainees studying in the Soviet Union. On behalf of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and its grassroots organizations, I wish to extend Spring Festival greetings to our Chinese guests. I wish you all health, happiness, and good results in your studies. Also, please let me express my wish for all Chinese people to make progress in the building of socialist society and to attain happiness in their personal lives.

Tikhvinskiy expressed satisfaction over current Soviet-Chinese relations. He is convinced that friendship and cooperation between our two countries will be constantly developed and deepened. [passage omitted]

Soviet Pilots Mark 'Wuhan Campaign' Anniversary
QW111105 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 5 Fe' 88

[From "Radio Journal 'USSR Today' Program"]

[Text] Recently, a reception was held at the House of Friendship of People of All Countries in Moscow in honor of Soviet pilots who took part in the Wuhan campaign 50 years ago. Present at the reception, which was sponsored by the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, were former Soviet technical advisers, volunteer pilots, activists of Soviet friendship societies, and representatives of people of various circles in Moscow. Counsellor (Wang Zhongxiang) and other diplomats from the Chinese Embassy in the USSR were also present.

Titarenko, first deputy chairman of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, and director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, made the opening address. Pushkin, chairman of the China Group of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans and a major general of the Soviet Armed Forces, made a speech. He thanked those attending the reception. This reception, he said, is to remember our assistance to the Chinese people in their struggle against the Japanese. China in those days was hard pressed. The Western powers abetted Japanese aggression by not taking a firm stand against Japan or supporting China. They hoped that Japan would be able to rout China's democratic forces led by the Chinese Communists, whose heroic struggle set an example for the national liberation movement in southeast Asia. Only the USSR, which has always been loyal to the policy of supporting the struggle of all countries for independence, gave China enormous moral, material, and military support which it needed to resist the Japanese aggressors. As a matter fact, Soviet volunteer pilots took part in the struggle ever since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1937.

General Pushkin continued: Fighting courageously and resolutely in China's skies, Soviet pilots dealt telling blows to the Japanese air force and other armed forces, provided cover for Chinese ground troops, defended the people, and thwarted Japanese aircraft attacks. Today we still can vividly remember the fierce aerial battles in Wuhan, which lasted from 29 April to 31 May 1938. In those battles, Soviet pilots inflicted heavy losses to the Japanese Air Force, displaying a high degree of heroism and selflessness.

(Gragevinskiy), Mashin, and other volunteer pilots also recounted the aerial battles they fought in Chinese skies, stressing that Soviet pilots loyally performed their internationalist obligations by helping the Chinese people fight the Japanese. They added that it is the Soviet people's sincere hope to promote their traditional friendship with the Chinese people established in their common fight for national and social liberation.

The reception concluded with a showing of the feature film, Mayor Chen Yi, which had been kindly presented to the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society by the Chinese Embassy in the USSR.

Nashkin Views Friendship Treaty Anniversary
OW150030 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 14 Feb 88

[Nashkin Commentary]

[Text] On 14 February 38 years ago, the USSR and China concluded a treaty of friendly alliance and cooperation. In this connection, observer Nashkin writes:

I was still a college student in 1950. I still can clearly remember the jubilance and satisfaction expressed by Soviet young people when they learned of the treaty's signing. With great fervor, we sympathized with the Chinese people's protracted, arduous, and heroic struggle for freedom against Japanese aggressors and reactionary dictatorship. When victory was won and the new people's government was established, the issue of whether the USSR should cooperate with the newly established China was nonexistent as far as Soviet people were concerned. In addition to cooperation, the Soviet people felt that they should do their utmost to help the PRC stand firm, as people used to say. That was a matter of course as far as we were concerned.

The Chinese people were hard-pressed during the fifties. The national economy was ravaged and there were no experienced technicians. Rehabilitating the country and guiding it to the path of social and economic progress required a lot of industrial equipment, raw materials (?in short supply), and big loans. However, owing to the blockade major capitalist powers headed by the United States declared on China, China's economic ties with other countries were interrupted. Thanks to the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendly Alliance and Cooperation, China received everything it badly needed in those days from the USSR on the most preferential terms. As Chinese leaders themselves pointed out, the USSR's supplying preferential loans, transferring technical documents virtually free of charge, and supplying the latest equipment, and Soviet experts' highly skilled labor, enabled China to rebuild all that had been destroyed and build the groundwork of the state's modern industry.

The Soviet-Chinese accord also played a significant role in the military and political areas. Had we not closed ranks, who knows what the imperialists would have done under certain acute situations? For example, during the period of U.S. armed intervention in Korea, the United States was right along China's borders. U.S. planes began to fiercely bomb some cities in Northeast China, but were rebuffed by Soviet divisions and regiments that were sent to support China at the request of the Chinese Government. A similar frightening situation reappeared in 1958 during the so-called Taiwan crisis. It was later learned that Washington had seriously studied the feasibility of launching a nuclear attack against some Chinese cities and industrial centers. The Soviet Government's firm declaration that it would not forsake China when it was in trouble stopped the maniacs.

In accordance with one article of the treaty, the treaty was to remain valid for 30 years and if neither party stated otherwise 1 year before the treaty expired it might be extended. In 1979 the Chinese leaders decided not to extend the treaty.

Since Soviet-Chinese relations have been improving in recent years, how can the two countries, which share a very long border, afford not to establish a reciprocal and equal cooperation, especially when they have the type of economies that can substantially supplement one another? As for their fundamental sociopolitical structures, they are similar in principle. There is no need for me to elaborate on the long tradition of good-neighborly relations between the two countries.

Now there is the question: How will the positive trend that has appeared in Soviet-Chinese relations affect Southeast Asian countries? To answer this question, let us remember that it was the abnormalities in Soviet-Chinese relations that made them a cause of instability in Southeast Asia during a certain period. If we believe that maintaining tension in certain areas is more important than establishing normal, good neighborliness between states, then our world must be too crowded and too tight for our contacts.

In his well-known speech in Vladivostok, our leader Gorbachev stated that history has given Soviet and Chinese peoples a mission of great responsibility and that the development of many things in the world depend on these two largest socialist countries. We Soviet people believe that further improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations will enhance the general process of improving the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Northeast Asia

USSR May Be Softening on Kuriles Issue

OW210735 Tokyo KYODO in English 0731 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, Feb. 21 KYODO—A top diplomatic aide to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has said the Soviet Union is ready to discuss any question with Japan, indicating the Soviet government may have softened its stance on the territorial issue with Japan.

Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, made the statement in reply to KYODO NEWS SERVICE's queries.

He said the Soviet Union believes it highly significant to develop relations with Japan and is ready to discuss any question with Japan.

If Japan thinks things in a new way, the Soviet Union's new thinking will turn into actual policies, Arbatov said without elaborating.

The Soviet Union seized four islands east of Japan's northernmost main island of Hokkaido immediately after World War II and has since said there exists no territorial issue between the two countries.

Arbatov said in discussing problems between the two countries, the Soviet Union seeks "realism" from Japan and its correct recognition of relations between the territorial issue and the value of its ties with the Soviet Union. He did not elaborate.

Soviets Detain Japanese Fishing Boat in Kuriles
OW180903 Tokyo KYODO in English 0840 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Sendai, Feb. 18 KYODO—Soviet authorities have detained a Japanese fishing vessel for illegally operating within Soviet territorial waters off the Kuriles in northern Pacific, maritime safety officials said Thursday.

They said a Soviet patrol boat stopped the No 75 Eikyu Maru, a 279-ton trawler with a 22-member crew, on Tuesday about 20 kilometers southeast of the island of Onekotan in the Kuriles.

The officials said the ship, based in Ishimaki in Miyagi Prefecture, was detained for allegedly fishing in the area without a permit.

The No 75 Eikyu Maru, together with crew members, was later taken to the nearby Soviet island of Paramushir, they said.

Soviet, Japanese Ships Collide in Osaka Port
OW220509 Tokyo KYODO in English 0453 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Osaka, Feb. 22 KYODO—A Japanese freighter sank after colliding with a Soviet vessel in Osaka Port early Monday, authorities reported.

Two crew members of the Japanese vessel, the 499-ton Ryusei Maru belonging to the Taiyo Steamship and Marine Improvement Public Corporation, were injured, port authorities said.

Ryusei Maru's collision with the 10,152-ton Alisherna-voi caused the Japanese ship to leak fuel oil, they said.

Three patrol boats set by a local maritime safety office were setting up fences to contain the leaked oil, the authorities said.

All five Ryusei Maru crewmen were thrown into the sea in the shock of the collision, which took place about 10 meters from a pier, the authorities said. But they were all rescued by the port authorities' tugboats before the Japanese freighter capsized and sank.

The Japanese ship rammed against the bow of the Soviet vessel when the latter finished turning for departure, maritime safety authorities said.

The Ryusei Maru was carrying 1,500 tons of limestone from Oita Prefecture. The Alishernavoi has just left the pier for Australia after unloading 10,500 tons of pig iron.

The left front part of the Soviet vessel was damaged in the collision, port officials said.

The skipper of the Japanese ship and one of his crew were treated at a hospital after being rescued, the officials said.

Japan-USSR Sports Venture Launched in Moscow
OW170649 Tokyo KYODO in English 0621 GMT 17 Feb 88

[Text] Tokyo, Feb. 17 KYODO—The office of the Soviet Union trade representative said Wednesday it has launched a sports venture in Moscow with a rapidly growing Japanese travelling company—the first sports venture with a Japanese company.

Raduga Sports, capitalized at 3.64 million rubles (800 million yen), will initially build and operate a Japanese chess club in Moscow this summer.

The company, owned 51 percent by the USSR State Physical and Sports Committee and the rest by Tokyo-based Raduga Corp., will construct such facilities as sports hotels, a ski course and tennis courts near Nakhodka, Lake Baykal and the Black Sea at a total cost of 8 billion yen starting next year, according to an office spokesman.

Valentin V. Sheshin, the head of the office, said some 50 more joint venture offers have already poured in from various Japanese fields.

In this connection, establishment of a sporting goods venture is also being considered, Sheshin added.

Results of Japan-Soviet Economic Talks Viewed
OW141001 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Vasilyev commentary]

[Text] The following is a commentary by Moscow Radio economic commentator Vasilyev on the 11th joint meeting of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet Economic committees held in Tokyo from 27 January to 2 February:

At the meeting, a wide range of views were exchanged on structural changes in the Soviet and Japanese economies, which should open up new possibilities for expanded reciprocal, economic exchanges. Japanese business representatives were briefed on the aim and content of the restructuring of the foreign economic exchange system now under way in the Soviet Union. With Soviet ministries and agencies, as well as industrial enterprises in many sectors, now having the right to move directly into foreign markets, prospects have opened up for increased cooperation between Japanese industrial enterprises and trading companies on one hand and Soviet agencies on the other.

The Soviet side believes that the conclusion of a long-term intergovernmental agreement on economic and industrial cooperation will undoubtedly promote drastic expansion of trade and economic cooperation on the basis of a stable foundation. The comprehensive plan for the development of productivity in Siberia and the Soviet Far East by the year 2000 creates broad possibilities for realizing such an agreement.

A special feature of the recent meeting was that it discussed the question of cooperation at the level of the various sectors concerned, specifically forestry, chemical industry, road-building machinery industry, and development of oil and natural gas deposits. The Soviet side proposed that the experience gained be also applied to such sectors as agricultural machinery, transport machinery, machine tool, and nonferrous metal industries, communications technology, light industry, agriculture, and tourism industry. Concrete forms of cooperation in these sectors can be considered under forthcoming sector-by-sector plans. These plans should serve as a realistic foundation for long-term economic cooperation at the intergovernmental level.

At the proposal of the Soviets, both sides agreed that a delegation of Japanese business circles and government agencies visit the Soviet Union this year to study the possibility of cooperation in modernizing and rebuilding some Soviet enterprises. This is aimed at expanding the export of products to Japan and third countries. In the Soviet view, one of the most promising ways to expand economic exchange between the two countries is by combining Soviet scientific and technological research and Japanese business experience in technological application. Cited at the meeting as examples were the welding technology using the famous (Sutton) Institute's formula, automatic gauges for conducting scientific research, and other Soviet research achievements. The Soviet Union is able to provide high-level technologies in some sectors of biotechnology or machine-building industry and in the industrial lasers field.

At the joint economic meeting, both sides confirmed the necessity of improving the trade structure by expanding mutual supply of products that meet the high demands of science and technology and by adding advanced, processed Soviet merchandise to bilateral trade. Thought to be conducive to accomplishing this objective will be to increase the number of items of compensatory trade, cooperative production, licensed trade, and other progressive cooperative-type work.

The joint economic meeting also examined the progress of the basic contract on cooperation in the development of the South Yakut coalfield, the exploration and development of oil and natural gas deposits in the (?Tarim) continental basin, and matters related to industrial chips and lumber. An agreement was also reached on a new, fourth basic plan on lumber. In accordance with a suggestion made at the 10th meeting last year, a contract was signed on the delivery of polyester fiber equipment by using the compensatory method. As a result, the foundation has been laid for drastic expansion of trade on the basis of a long-range outlook. In addition, views were also exchanged on the further development of cooperation in the chemical industrial field. Prospects of cooperation in the pulp and paper-making industry were also discussed, and it was agreed that the talks on the expansion of Far Eastern ports be continued.

During the period of the 11th joint economic committee meeting, a representative of the Soviet Foreign Trade Corporation concluded contracts with his Japanese counterpart amounting to a total of $210 million. They included a $140 million contract for the delivery of a polyester fiber plant to Kursk in southwestern Soviet Union.

Malkevich, president of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry who headed the Soviet delegation, met with Prime Minister Takeshita and other cabinet members as well as business leaders. At these meetings, they highly appraised the success of the 11th joint economic meeting and both sides expressed the intention to strive for the further development of Soviet-Japanese trade and economic cooperation to strengthen friendship and goodneighborliness between the peoples of the two countries.

Japan's Space Development Policy Questioned

OW190557 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Kamalin commentary]

[Text] The conclusion of the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty, which is under deliberation in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress for ratification, is the first step toward practical nuclear arms reduction. An issue which is brought to the fore following the INF agreement is to drastically reduce, and eventually abolish, strategic nuclear weapons.

Needless to say, the responsibility for solving problems related to strategic weapons lies primarily with the Soviet Union and the United States. However, the experience gained from the INF abolition talks shows that all nations in the world can make substantial contributions toward helping reach agreement. This can be said, in particular, of close allies of the Soviet Union and the United States, including Japan. However, under the present circumstances, can we say that all nations are making such contributions?

It has been proven for a long time that the issue of reducing strategic weapons is closely linked with the issue of space demilitarization. The start of an arms race in space would bring about the emergence of related weapons systems which would in turn bring about unpredictable and destructive results. Needless to say, this would mean a halt to the entire process of strategic arms reduction. This was fully taken into account when

Japan's Diet adopted a resolution in 1969 declaring that Japan would take part in space development only for peaceful purposes. But as is known to everyone, the Japanese Government 2 years ago made a decision to directly invest Japan's science and technology research and development in helping the United States realize the SDI—Strategic Defense Initiative—project; and last year, it entered into an agreement with the U.S. Government related to its implementation.

Thus, Japan is lending a hand in helping start a new phase of a more dangerous arms race. This is all the more true because Japan recently went so far as to express its willingness to participate in the construction of a ballistic missile defense system in the Far East, which is essentially a part of the SDI project.

Furthermore, the result of the negotiations on an international orbital station development project arouses doubts as to whether Japan is abiding by the self-professed principle of the peaceful use of space. A new round of these negotiations was held in Washington from 4 to 6 February. In principle, it is the Soviet Union which calls for international cooperation in space development for peaceful purposes. However, the international orbital station development project, in which Japan is participating, is totally different in nature from the international cooperation advocated by the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, the U.S. Defense Department does not particularly try to hide that it is plotting to use the orbital station for its own purposes.

According to reports, the Pentagon is studying specific ways to bind the station to the framework of the SDI project and convert it into a stronghold for a space weapons system. Under these circumstances, chances are slim for the accord reached at the latest talks to be carried into practice; the countries participating in the project are carrying out research programs under their respective national policies in their own laboratories, but their efforts would become components of the station.

Then, what does Japan pursue under its national policy? Judging from the fact that Japan is participating in SDI research and development, there is no ground to say that this national policy of Japan is based on the Diet's 1969 resolution. In addition, as reported by TOKYO SHIMBUN in its 10 October issue, the Japanese Government intends to authorize some military research in Japan's experimental module, which is part of the orbital station.

Even though the Japanese side might think that it can contribute to improving the international situation by adopting this kind of policy, it is the prevailing view throughout the world that it is impossible to resolve the present security issue by means of building up arms, no matter what the latest mass-destruction weapons may be.

DPRK Claims DMZ 'Watch Post' Fired Upon

LD191738 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang February 19 TASS—Large-calibre machinegun fire was opened in the direction of a North Korean watch post in the demilitarised zone from South Korea today morning, the KCNA news agency has reported. The fire was not returned.

The provocative act is a clear indication that Washington and Seoul are deliberately aiming to aggravate the situation in the Korean peninsula.

But for the North Korean side's self-control, the agency emphasized, the incident could have evolved into an armed clash.

Katushev, DPRK's Chong Song-nam Confer

PM161527 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general rubric: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 10 February a conversation took place between K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and Chong Song-nam, DPRK minister of external economic affairs. Questions of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries were discussed.

DPRK Issues Statement on Airliner Incident

LD162321 Moscow TASS in English 2113 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang February 16 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea today made a statement over attempts by the United States, Japan and South Korea to submit the question of a recent disappearance of a South Korean airliner for a discussion at the U.N. Security Council.

The statement said that the intention to link the incident with the DPRK furthered unseemly aims. It described this intention as groundless.

The Foreign Ministry said the results of the "investigation" carried out by South Korea were "pure forgery".

"The hidden motive behind this campaign is clear already," it said. "The United States, Japan and South Korea seek to discredit the DPRK's international prestige and justify the aggressive essence of the U.S. policy in Korea. At the same time, they wish to bring down the intensity of Anti-American and anti-Government protests of people in South Korea and prevent a serious crisis of the puppet regime," the statement went on.

The DPRK Government regarded the campaign over the disappearance of the South Korean plane as an outrage upon the U.N. Charter and the international public and as an insult to the dignity of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Foreign Ministry said.

KAL Issue Described as 'Seoul-Enacted Drama'

LD170910 Moscow TASS in English 0712 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] New York February 17 TASS—The DPRK permanent observer at the United Nations Pak Kil-yon has turned down the Seoul regime's provocative fabrications on the DPRK's any involvement [as received] in the November 29 disappearance of a Korean Airlines plane which was on its Baghdad-Seoul flight.

Speaking at the Security Council's meeting on Tuesday, held to discuss the incident, he described it as "no more than a drama written and enacted by the highest authorities themselves in South Korea" in an atmosphere of exceeding political instability in South Korea.

The Seoul authorities are seeking to use the incident in a bid to lessen the positive influence upon South Korea's population of the DPRK's peace initiatives aimed at ensuring new possibilities for national reconciliation, reduction of tension in the Korean Peninsula, safeguarding of peace and security in the region and the whole world.

S. Korea 'Olympic Security' Argument Dismissed

PM161509 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Specious Excuse"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 10 Feb—NODONG SINMUN condemns U.S. and South Korean attempts to undertake a large-scale buildup of armed forces on the Korean peninsula on the pretext of ensuring the "security of the Olympics in Seoul."

DPRK N.-S. Conference Proposal Unanswered

PM161541 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Urgent Measures Are Necessary"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 12 February—The tense situation on the Korean peninsula necessitates urgent effective measures to preserve peace in this region and achieve national consolidation. A press statement published in Pyongyang by the preparatory commission on the convocation of a joint North-South conference devoted to questions of detente and disarmament stresses this.

However, the document points out that exactly 1 month has elapsed since the South Korean side was given the North's proposal for holding on 19 February this year a meeting to resolve the practical questions of preparing this conference and as yet no direct answer has come from Seoul.

The interests of a peaceful settlement on the Korean peninsula demand that South Korea's political parties and public organizations engage even more vigorously in the struggle for the implementation of the DPRK's peace initiative with regard to the convocation of a joint North-South conference.

Representatives of CPSU, WPK Journals Confer

PM151605 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Useful Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] During roundtable conversations held in Moscow 10-11 February, representatives of the CPSU Central Committee journal KOMMUNIST and the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee journal KULLOJA discussed problems of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region and on the Korean peninsula. Taking part in the meetings with the Korean comrades were scholars from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, the Institute of the Far East, and the Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System and representatives of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries and the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace.

Zaykov Receives Ulaanbaatar Party Leader

LD201155 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Business contacts between the capital cities' organizations of the CPSU Central Committee and the MPRP are an important factor in the steadfast and advancing development of friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal peoples. This was stressed during a talk on 19 February between Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, and the delegation of the Ulaanbaatar MPRP committee led by Lantuu, first secretary of the city party committee, which is staying in Moscow at the invitation of the Moscow Gorkom. An agreement has been signed on cooperation of the party, Soviet, trade union and youth organizations of Moscow and Ulaanbaatar for the years 1988-91 that envisages extending and enhancing the fruitful links between the two fraternal capitals. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR, participated in the talk.

Briefs

Film Cooperation With DPRK

A plan for cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK has been signed in the area of film making. Our correspondent interviewed the DPRK Deputy Minister of Culture and Art Kim Chun-han, who explained that the plan will further cultural cooperation. On the occasion of the countries' national festivals, film weeks will be held and in summer Korea will send films and directors to Tashkent's international film festival, and Soviet experts in film production will travel to Korea as will Gosfilmfond [All-Union State Film Fund] representatives. Film cooperation has taken on new forms in recent years, with two joint films made on the liberation of Korea from the yoke of Japanese colonialism and the heroisn of Soviet soldiers on Korean soil in August, 1945. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 12 Feb 88 LD*]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Vietnam 'Denounces' PRC Warship Intrusion

LD220955 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Hanoi February 22 TASS—A representative of the Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has issued here a statement which says that on January 31 this year four Chinese warships intruded into Vietnam's territorial waters in the area of the islands of Truong Sa and undertook provocative actions towards two Vietnamese transport vessels. These four warships are still in Vietnam's waters. Moreover, the Chinese side sent other warships to that area.

These unlawful actions, undertaken following repeated intrusions of Chinese warships into Vietnam's territorial waters in the area of the Truong Sa islands, are an encroachment on the sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Such actions gravely imperil Vietnam's security, heighten tension and add to instability in South East Asia, the statement says.

The Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the statement says, reaffirms once again Vietnam's sovereignty over the Truong Sa and Hoang Sa archipelagoes, denounces the above actions of the Chinese side and demands that China should immediately withdraw its ships from Vietnam's territorial waters and stop any actions violating the sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Otherwise, the Chinese side will held fully responsible for the possible consequences.

SRV 'Fully Approves' Afghanistan Agreement

LD211034 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Hanoi February 21 TASS—The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam fully approves the agreement reached by Afghanistan and the Soviet Union on the coming return home of Soviet troops from that country, says a statement of the Foreign Ministry of Vietnam circulated by the VNA news agency.

This initiative was described as the manifestation of the good will of both countries whose purpose was to create conditions for the successful outcome of the Geneva talks. It is to ensure a peaceful life of the Afghan people, to contribute to the settlement of the situation in the region, to the cause of peace and friendship among nations.

The statement said as well that the Vietnamese Government denounced the intrigues of the imperialist and reactionary forces aimed at putting up obstacles on the way of a peaceful settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Urged To Clarify Position on Afghan Talks

'Single Approach' Needed

PM191459 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Skosyrev "Rejoinder": "Tactical Game and Long-Term Interests"]

[Text] It is already 10 days since the publication of M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan, but the discussion of this document abroad still goes on. Discussions are also under way in the United States. IZVESTIYA has reported the overall positive reaction by official Washington and the press.

At the same time, there has been an activation of extreme right-wing forces which would like the fighting to continue until the last Afghan is dead, provided this damages the Soviet Union. The stance taken by these circles boils down to the following: Despite the fact that the USSR is prepared to start the withdrawal of its troops, they claim that the United States ought to nevertheless "continue to supply arms to the insurgents."

Where could such a course of action lead? The answer would seem to be clear. It would thwart a settlement. And yet, in the past, the United States not only supported the process of peace talks in Geneva, but also officially declared that U.S. aid to antigovernment groupings would end 2 months after the appropriate agreements are signed. Nevertheless, now that it is possible to move on from words to deeds and put an end

to the bloodshed, Washington is beginning to confuse the issue. Indeed, it is said there, the Department of State did agree to stop arms shipments, but President Reagan "did not know" about this.

Does this mean that the administration does not have a single approach to the Afghan problem? Or are people there seeking a pretext to evade the pledges made earlier? So far this is not clear.

On the other hand, there are influential politicians in the United States who assess the situation in and around Afghanistan from the viewpoint of long-term prospects rather than current tactical advantage. Their views were reflected by THE NEW YORK TIMES. "Washington," it asserts, "must think not only of its own goals in Afghanistan.... but also of the interlinkage between Afghanistan and overall U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union. A settlement in Afghanistan could contribute to cooperation in the cause of easing regional tension in other parts of the world.... America is interested in ending the conflict, and the Soviet Union's readiness to develop cooperation ought to be placed above tactical game considerations."

...Tactical game or long-term interests. The U.S. Administration now must say which it prefers. But it ought not to forget that the attitude toward an Afghan settlement will be the "acid test" by which the world will judge the worth of the West's calls for political solution of regional crises.

Support of Rebels Deplored

PM191707 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian
17 Feb 88 p 9

[Own correspondent Iona Andronov dispatch under the "Behind the Facts" rubric: "The Most Fashionable Dancing of the War"]

[Text] New York—On the night of 20 February, the most fashionable hotel in Phoenix, the "Arizona Biltmore," will set a peculiar record: A table reservation in the restaurant alone will cost $60,000! This is the cost of admission to a banquet, concert, and ball of fairy-tale splendor which newspaper reporters who are chronicling the social life of the American elite have been in raptures over for a long time. Its 700 celebrities—millionaires, politicians, and filmstars, glittering with diamonds, the arbiters of fashion—have been invited from across the country, from New York to Los Angeles, to celebrate in Phoenix and at the same time lavishly fork out for this venture, which has been given the extremely exotic title: "A Night for Afghanistan." The money collected on this wild night will be spent on equipping Afghan dushman gangs. George Bush, "honorary chairman" of the upcoming evening ball, U.S. presidential candidate, and incumbent vice president, has shown special concern for these gangs.

The vice president's society caprices seem especially strange today, because last week his administration reacted with apparent approval to the program for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which has been announced in the press here: "This is a very good step in the right direction." The U.S. State Department also reacted in this way: "We welcome Mr Gorbachev's obvious intention to tackle the problem in question." In addition, the State Department once again confirmed that at the time of the December meeting between R. Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev, the U.S. side pledged to stop arming the dushmans when Soviet subdivisions began to leave Afghanistan. So what is going on?

It turned out that it is not only Bush who is playing a double hand: The White House press secretary, who publicly approved the start of the Soviet initiative in Afghanistan as of 15 May, refused at the same time to set a similar or even a subsequent date for the end of Washington's arms deliveries to the dushmans. Furthermore Elie Krakowski, director of the Pentagon Regional Defense Administration and the U.S. Government's main military expert on Afghanistan, announced the future continuation of maximum arms for Afghan counterrevolutionaries. David Isby, a second such Washington expert and lobbyist, said with the utmost frankness:

"Henceforth Afghan insurgents are to attack Soviet airfields and motor vehicle columns even more frequently. They are not only to attack but crush Soviet garrisons. They are to be given even more of our 'Stinger' antiaircraft missiles and long-range mortars."

But why provoke bloodshed once again and thus keep Soviet troops in wretched Afghanistan? Here is the NEW YORK POST's cynical explanation: "Moscow says that it will begin the withdrawal of its soldiers from Afghanistan on 15 May. As of then, General Secretary Gorbachev asks the United States to stop arming the Afghan rebels. However, there is no point in America indulging Gorbachev. Battles in Afghanistan mean human losses for the USSR. Moreover, this war imposes a financial burden on the poor Soviet economy. Every argument convinces the United States that support for the insurgent Afghans must not be revoked."

As if deliberately timed to coincide with the Soviet leader's speech on Afghanistan, long-range 120-mm mortars have been delivered to the dushmans from the United States for the first time. As THE WASHINGTON POST reports, they have already been used to bombard a patrol of Soviet infantrymen in the Afghan Konar valley. The capital's newspaper coolly sums up: "The use of the 120-mm mortars is a new escalation of the military conflict." In order to transport the heavy mortars along the narrow Afghan mountain tracks, the Pentagon has begun supplying the dushmans with a special breed of donkey from Tennessee. USAF aircraft have already delivered 2,000 Tennessee donkeys to the

Afghan border. The instigators of the 8-year Afghan disturbance have clearly surpassed them, of course, for inherent, pernicious stubbornness.

Vorontsov, Pakistani Envoy Discuss Afghanistan

LD191533 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS—First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Yuliy Vorontsov today received the Ambassador of Pakistan in the USSR Shahid Mohammad Amin.

The ambassador brought messages from the President of Pakistan Ziaul Haq to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and from Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov.

During their conversation Yuliy Vorontsov and Shahid Mohammad Amin discussed questions connected with the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan in the light of the statement on Afghanistan made by Mikhail Gorbachev on February 8 this year and in connection with the forthcoming new round of Afghan-Pakistani talks through the mediation of the special envoy of the United Nations Secretary General Diego Cordovez in Geneva early in March.

Kornilov Views Pakistan Stand on Afghan Talks

LD221357 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 22 Feb 88

["Who Obstructs Settlement in Afghanistan—Kornilov"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 22 Tass—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov expressed the Soviet side's concern about the changed Pakistani position on an Afghan settlement.

In an article published by the daily SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Sunday, he said the refugee issue had been raised by the Pakistani side to delay the signature of Geneva agreements on a settlement.

"Over many years Islamabad has been seeking to convince everyone that the refugee problem cropped up when a limited continent of Soviet troops was brought into Afghanistan. And now it has started saying that the main thing for the solution of this problem is not at all the troop withdrawal, but the forming of a new government in Kabul. So where is the logic?," Kornilov asked.

He stressed that "a domestic Afghan settlement is quite a different aspect of the Afghan problem, a matter for the Afghans themselves to settle. It is imperative to facilitate this process, but not at the expense of the Geneva process."

Commenting on Pakistani Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani's statement to the effect that there is much in common between the stands of Washington and Islamabad on the Afghan problem, the news analyst asked: "Does this mean that Islamabad's inconsistent, non-constructive tactics have been adopted by its transoceanic ally and patrol or that Islamabad itself is dutifully following Washington's directives?"

"This is suggested, for instance, by the U.S. journal THE NATION which said that the White House had advised the Pakistani leadership to put off the Geneva talks until an Afghan Government fully suiting U.S. tastes was determined.

"Explaining the U.S. Administration's posture, the NATION noted that the Soviet proposal on Afghanistan had taken the United States unawares and that another reason for the unwillingness of the White House to solve the problem of Afghanistan in a businesslike way was that it had invested more than one and a half billion dollars in aid to Afghan rebels in various forms, including deliveries of the newest armaments, and so the success of the talks would mean for it the loss of all those funds," Kornilov said.

He described the attitude as "cynical".

Pakistani Party Hails Soviet, Afghan Policy

LD201735 Moscow Tass in English 1721 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Kabul February 20 TASS—The statements by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, have reaffirmed the peaceful and constructive nature of the foreign policy of Afghanistan and the USSR, says a message by the National People's Party of Pakistan Central Committee, sent to the National Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee.

The Pakistani people always knew that the present difficulties in Afghanistan were precipitated by interference of U.S. imperialism and its Pakistani henchmen, the message says. Pakistanis wish peace to the neighbouring country and believe in the sincerity of peaceful aspirations by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. The majority of the Afghans who found themselves in Pakistan share this belief.

The statements by Mikhail Gorbachev and Najibullah have forged the hope for an early political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, the message says. The USSR and Afghanistan met the opposite side halfway in many respects thus removing the pretexts for delaying the Geneva negotiations. The ball is now in the court of the other side—the Islamabad regime.

The message emphasizes that the attempts to link the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops and a political settlement of the conflict around Afghanistan with the problem of a government in Kabul do not have grounds whatsoever. Setting up a coalition government in Afghanistan is an utterly domestic Afghan issue to which Pakistan has not any relation.

The message expresses the hope that common sense will finally triumph, the agreements in Geneva will be signed and implemented. This is required by the interests of the Afghan and other nations.

Commentary on Future Coalition in Afghanistan
LD192204 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS—Follows commentary by TASS political news analyst Valeriy Vavilov:

It is a purely internal Afghan affair what a new coalition government of Afghanistan is going to be. It can be decided only by the Afghans themselves without any interference from the outside. Nobody has the right to force his will on them: The Afghan people are to decide their domestic affairs independently, without the influence, and even less so diktat by the third countries, whether it be the Soviet Union, the USA, Pakistan or any other "interested" states. This is the explicit stand of the Soviet Union. It has once again been confirmed in the statement on Afghanistan by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The aim of that stand is also clear. It is to contribute to ending bloodshed, to completing the cause of the political settlement in Afghanistan.

Peace on the Afghan soil is attainable today as never before, since the drawing up of the necessary documents has been almost completed at the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva. These documents include a bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan on non-interference in internal affairs, an agreement on voluntary return of refugees home, and declaration on international guarantees of putting an end to and non-resumption of interference and the control mechanism. Wishing to contribute towards a speedy and successful completion of the Geneva peace process, the governments of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan have fixed a schedule for the return of the Soviet troops home from Afghanistan, which is acceptable to all. The specific date for the start of their withdrawal—May 15 this year—has been fixed and the time for carrying out that action has been set at 10 months. It is precisely these factors—the date and the schedule—which have long been pictured by opponents of political settlement as the "main obstacle on the way towards a settlement of the Afghan conflict." The fresh Soviet and Afghan proposals deprive them of that trump card.

What remains to be done now? To sit down to the negotiating table in Geneva, to sign the appropriate documents and start a practical implementation of the agreements. And two months after the signing of the documents the Soviet troops would start returning home, and already at the first stage it is planned to return home a comparatively larger part of the Soviet contingent.

The further process is a matter to be decided by the Afghan people themselves. They themselves are to determine ultimately the status of their country and form their own coalition government. The Afghan leadership declares its preparedness to share power with opposition, including with those who have for a long time been fighting arms in hand against the Afghan government, who, while staying abroad, in Pakistan, Iran and other countries, guide the actions of the mercenaries, supply them with weapons and materiel recieved from the foreign patrons. It takes them only one thing—to display goodwill, to throw away their personal ambitions and think about the destiny of their own people, who are sick and tired of the eight year old fratricidal war, and then they themselves would be able to join actively in the national reconciliation process, take part in restoring peace and tranquility on the long suffering Afghan soil. The government of the republic has repeatedly invited the leaders of all the opposition forces to start a dialogue and draw up on the basis of the talks between the confronting sides forms of settlement acceptable to all, i.e. to the Afghan people. Until now the leaders of the so-called "seven," who entrenched themselves in Pakistan, are rejecting these sensible proposals, refusing to share power and take important posts in the coalition government. Some of them, in particular Hikmatyar, the leader of the one of the Hezb-e Eslami groups has rejected not only the proposals of the Soviet and Afghan governments but even the process of the Geneva talks itself.

Islamabad not only connives at the actions of the anti-government troops operating from Pakistan's territory, but is also trying to predetermine precisely what government it would wish to see in Afghanistan. President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan said that the return of the Soviet troops home from Afghanistan without the replacement of Najibullah's government with some "transitional" government could lead to a new bloodshed. But it takes in the first place not to send gangs and weapons from Pakistan to end the bloodshed.

In other words, the Pakistani leaders and their patrons are again trying to protract the signing of the Geneva accord, by putting forward clearly far-fetched conditions. But only those who got used to making profit on misfortunes and troubles of other peoples, to warming their hands on the flames of war, which will painfully burn literally all, can be interested in that.

Afghan Tribal Affairs Minister Interviewed

LD191523 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] The policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the PDPA leadership is enjoying wide support among that country's public. Our special correspondent Yevgeniy Grachev reports from Kabul:

[Grachev] One of the most important aspects of national reconciliation is a correct policy regarding the numerous national and ethnic groups living in the country, and all questions relating to the interrelations of various peoples and tribes are far from simple. Afghanistan's Ministry of Tribal and Border Affairs deals with these questions. The work of this ministry is headed by Sulayman La'eq, president of the country's Academy of Sciences and one of the most respected people in the country. Here is what Sulayman La'eq said in an interview to Soviet Radio:

[Begin La'eq recording in vernacular fading into Russian translation] The question of tribes in Afghanistan has always been one of the most important. The point is that the tribes themselves are linked by socioeconomic relations. They have their distinctive culture, their folklore, and their traditions. These tribes have always played and are playing a big role in the social, and, naturally, in the political life of Afghanistan. A major role was played by the tribes in the initial period after the victory of the April revolution. They didn't yield to the enemies' tricks, and took the road of independence, the road of defense of the homeland's interests.

It needs to be said that in our country all questions were resolved by the tribes at their councils, which systematized and regulated the entire style of life. Over 90 such councils exist, made up of over 700 representatives of the tribes. The republic's leadership is devoting the closest attention to the work of these councils. In the capital a central council of the tribes has been set up, called the Council of Pushtun assemblies. Under the feudal system, the state exerted no influence on the tribes, but now, in accordance with the wish of the tribes themselves, their very close relations with the state are being established, with the decision being made to set up local bodies of state power. It is in this way that we are trying to work with the tribes in setting up state management bodies. [end recording]

Afghan Official on Role of Private Businessmen

LD200017 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1610 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Interview with Afghan Deputy Prime Minister Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin by special correspondent Stanislav Tarasov in Kabul carried as part of the "World Today" program, presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov; date of interview not given; Amin speaks in vernacular fading into Russian report—recorded]

[Text] Our special correspondent Stanislav Tarasov has met with Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin, deputy prime minister of Afghanistan, in Kabul. He represents the interests of private businessmen.

[Amin] The Afghan economy is multi-tiered. It has several sectors—public, private, and mixed sectors. I wish to stress the role of the private sector. It produces 80 percent of the gross national product. Recently an All-Afghan Conference of Private Sector Representatives was held in Kabul. It identified the obstacles that prevent it from working effectively. It outlined specific measures for removing them and adopted laws clarifying activities of private entrepreneurs. I, personally, as a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, am responsible for implementing these laws. All the measures adopted in the recent months by the Afghan leadership are aimed at maintaining the development of the private sector. All this is reflected in the new Afghan constitution itself. It has clearly determined the rights and obligations of entrepreneurs. Helping them has become one of the main trends in the policy of the state leadership at the present stage. We ourselves are even now witnessing almost every month in various parts of the country more new shopkeepers and industrial enterprises springing up.

[Tarasov] Recently, in many countries, the press has written about Afghan entrepreneurs setting up or trying to set up a political party of their own. If this party has indeed been set up, what are its purposes in the conditions of modern Afghanistan.

[Amin] As far as I know, this sort of party has not yet been set up. However, at present, the question of creating a party of the national bourgeoisie is under scrutiny. It must defend its interests within the framework of the operating constitution and in line with the country's laws. Every single Afghan patriot is now thinking about bringing peace and calmness back to his land. The policy of national reconciliation adopted by the Afghan leadership headed by Najibullah has found great support in the Afghan population. As has been stated by Dr Najibullah recently, today every opportunity must be used in order to successfully implement the policy of national reconciliation. One must try to meet halfway the forces that strive for putting a stop to bloodshed and for restoring peace. Factors reflecting the political life of the country show that Afghanistan must be an independent, neutral, nonaligned state, a state which would maintain friendly relations with all countries, above all with its northern neighbor, the Soviet Union, and would ensure that good and mutually beneficial relations are maintained regardless of who holds power in Kabul. This has been mentioned many times by both Soviet and Afghan leaders. This is why the statement of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Afghanistan has found such a lively response and support among millions of Afghan people and millions of people of goodwill all over the world.

I am sure that proceeding from the interests of the peoples of our countries, principles of good-neighborliness, peace, and cooperation, friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan will develop and strengthen still more successfully.

Afghan-Soviet War Memorial Unveiled in Kabul

Najibullah Attends Ceremony

LD211558 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Kabul February 21 TASS—Tass correspondent O. Kuzmin reports:

A commemorative stele dedicated to Afghan-Soviet combat comradeship-in-arms was unveiled here today. The unveiling ceremony was attended by President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan, commander-in-chief of the Republic's Armed Forces, by Afghan military leaders and high-ranking officers, by generals and officers of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and by representatives of the Kabul public.

Lieutenant General Muhammad Rafi', Afghan minister of defence, emphasized in a speech at the meeting that the commemorative stele symbolises the brotherhood-in-arms of the armed forces of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.

Afghan leaders and representatives of Soviet servicemen laid bunches of flowers at the obelisks in memory of Afghan and Soviet servicemen who had fallen in battles. Eternal flame was lighted at the foot of the monument.

Afghan Defense Minister Speaks

LD212106 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Today a monument to the internationalist servicemen was unveiled in a ceremonial atmosphere in the capital of Afghanistan. Our special correspondent Yevgeniy Grachev reports from Kabul:

[Grachev] This monument is devoid of pomposity. Modest yet majestic in its simplicity, it will stand here in Kabul as an eternal symbol of Soviet-Afghan friendship, a symbol of the brotherhood-in-arms of Soviet and Afghan servicemen, the defenders of the ideals of the April Revolution. [passage omitted]

Leading to this severe monument is an alley lined with sloping marble slabs on which are inscribed the names of Soviet and Afghan soldiers and officers, the heroes of the armed struggle with the mercenaries of international imperialism and the forces of reaction.

Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, arrived for the unveiling of the monument. The formation of Soviet internationalist servicemen and their Afghan comrades-in-arms stood still in strict silence. Many of them bear combat awards that glistened in the bright sunshine. A speech was made by General Mohammad Rafi', the Afghan minister of defense.

[Begin Rafi' recording in vernacular fading into Russian translation] The monument of Afghan-Soviet friendship is a symbol of the cooperation of the people and the armed forces of the USSR and Afghanistan. The great Lenin stood at the beginning of this friendship. The Soviet people have always been beside us, in both happy and difficult times for us. This monument symbolizes our joint struggle for the ideas of peace, freedom, and democracy. We are opening this monument on the eve of a great festive occasion, the 70th anniversary of the USSR Armed Forces. Their history is one of an army of the people, and an army of internationalist servicemen. Our people place a high value on the outstanding role of the Soviet servicemen, who came to our assistance at a difficult hour. The greatness and significance of this monument lie in the fact that it will remind present and future generations of the exploits of Soviet soldiers that have rooted themselves in and stained with their blood the great tree of Soviet-Afghan friendship. [end recording]

Vorontsov Meets With Arab Ambassadors

LD192055 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1923 GMT19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Feb (TASS)—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, today received a group of heads of Arab diplomatic missions in Moscow: YAR Ambassador A.O. Muhammad [name as received]; Jordanian Ambassador F. al-Tawil; Kuwaiti Ambassador A. al-Du'ayj; and PLO Charge d'Affaires S. Abu 'Imarah. Aspects of the situation in the Near East in light of the ongoing uprising by the Palestinians in the territories occupied by Israel were examined during the conversation.

The Arab representatives expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for its consistent support for the just cause of the Arabs and the courageous struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of their inalienable national rights.

Those taking part in the conversation condemned the repressive policy of the Israeli authorities and the violence and arbitrary rule they are causing with regard to the civilian Palestinian population.

Yu.M. Vorontsov confirmed the Soviet Union's position in favor of the persistent need for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and for a solution to the crucial Palestinian problem within the framework of an international conference. The Soviet people are in solidarity with the Palestinians' struggle. Meetings in support of that struggle are being held all over the country. Speeches by Palestinians are receiving wide coverage in the Soviet mass media.

It was stressed that the Soviet Union intends to undertake further active efforts to unblock the dangerous situationin the Near East, including during the forthcoming talks in Moscow with U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz.

There was also an exchange of views on the means for the swiftest end to the Iran-Iraq conflict on the basis of implementing UN Security Council Resolution 598.

At the request of the Arab ambassadors, Yu.M. Vorontsov set forth in detail the Soviet approach to settling the problem of Afghanistan. He stressed that all necessary preconditions for an urgent signing of the Geneva agreements and for the settlement of the Afghan problem had been set up in light of the statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on 8 February. It is now only up to the United States and Pakistan to say the word. Whether or not it will be possible to achieve an end to foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, effect a withdrawal of the Soviet contingent from Afghanistan in a brief time frame, and secure national reconciliation in that country, depends upon their stand.

The ambassadors' attention was drawn by the Soviet sie to the fact that at this present crucial moment all peace-loving forces, the Arab countries included, can make a weighty contribution to the cause of a peaceful settlement to the problem of Afghanistan.

The Arab representatives stated that the Soviet Union's constructive policy on this issue meets with the full support of the Arabs and has their confidence.

Kuwaiti Envoy's Report

LD191747 Kuwait KUNA in English 1616 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, Feb 19 (KUNA)—Four Arab Ambassadors met here Friday with Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuli Vorontsov to discuss key Arab issues. Kuwaiti Ambassador in Moscow 'Abd al-Mohsen al-Du'ayj told KUNA that the meeting with Vorontsov included, in addition to himself, ambassadors of Jordan, the Yemen Arab Republic and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Al-Du'ayj said that the discussion focussed on the ongoing Iraq-Iran war, the heroic uprising in the occupied territories and the Afghan problem.

The Kuwaiti envoy quoted Vorontsov as affirming his country's support for the Palestinian upheaval, expressing readiness of the Soviet media to publish any news on the revolt which entered its third month.

He added that the Soviet official also affirmed Moscow's (?readiness) to back a decision on clamping sanctions against party refusing to halt the Gulf war, "if Arab friends believe in the effectiveness of such a decision."

Support for Arms Embargo

JN201302 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1200 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, 20 Feb (INA)—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov met in Moscow yesterday with the ambassadors of the YAR, Jordan, and Kuwait and the PLO representative in Moscow.

They discussed ways to expedite the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 on ending the Iraq-Iran war. They also discussed the Iraq-Iran war, the uprising in the occupied territory, and the main issues to be discussed during the talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his U.S. counterpart George Shultz.

During the meeting Vorontsov reviewed his country's stand on the Afghan problem and the Soviet initiative to draw forces from Afghanistan.

In a statement to the INA correspondent today, 'Abd 'Uthman Muhammad [as received], the YAR ambassador to the Soviet Union, said that during the meeting Vorontsov refuted allegations claiming the Soviet Union rejects the implementation of a second Security Council resolution on imposing an embargo on the export of arms to the side that refuses to end the war. Vorontsov said the Soviet Union supports any practical step that will contribute toward bringing about a speedy end to the Iran-Iraq war, he said.

Vorontsov referred to the Soviet view that believes in the importance of uniting all the efforts to expedite the implementation of all the articles of Resolution 598 as a practical basis that enjoys the support of all the Security Council members.

The YAR ambassador also said the Soviet first deputy foreign minister emphasized the importance of giving regional issues, including the Iran-Iraq war and the Middle East question, priority in the political talks between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Tunisians Receive Envoy, Gorbachev Message

LD191735 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Tunis, 19 Feb (TASS)—Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, president of the Republic of Tunusia, today received Mikhail Sytenko, representative of the Soviet leadership, who conveyed to him an verbal message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Afghanistan.

During the conversation, in which Tunisian Prime Minister Hedi Baccouche took part, the president welcomed the Soviet leadership's decision to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan. He expressed the hope that

settling the Afghan problem will open the way toward resolving other regional conflicts and will promote the strengthening of peace, security, and trust between peoples.

Envoy Delivers Gorbachev Message to Kuwaiti Amir

LD201411 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Kuwait, February 20 TASS—Shaykh Jabir Al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, the emir of Kuwait, has received visiting Ambassador at Large Oleg Grinevskiy, special envoy of the Soviet leadership. Grinevskiy conveyed an oral message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The emir of Kuwait welcomed the Soviet initiative which was set out in the Soviet leader's statement on Afghanistan, and declared for active international efforts to implement the initiative and to secure a peaceful political solution to the Afghan problem so that independent and non-aligned Afghanistan could play full-value role in world affairs.

Polyakov Meets With Syrian Foreign Minister

PM191421 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Soviet Representatives in Conversations"]

[Text] Damascus, 17 Feb—Syrian Foreign Minister F. al-Shar' has received V.P. Polyakov, member of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Collegium and chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Near Eastern and North African Countries Department, who is visiting here. A detailed exchange of opinions took place on problems of the current situation in the Near East. The sides were unanimous that the Palestinians' refusal to accept Israeli occupation underlies the mass demonstrations by the population in the occupied Arab territories. It was emphasized that no measures of a temporary or so-called interim nature now being imposed on the Arabs can extricate a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict out of the dead end which has developed as a result of Israel's obstructionist policy. Only the convening of a plenipotentiary international conference on the Near East attended by all interested sides and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council—which is advocated by the overwhelming majority of states in the world—can pave the way toward the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region.

On behalf of the Syrian leadership, F. al-Shar' acclaimed M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan and expressed full support for the efforts by the Soviet Union and the Afghan Government aimed at the speediest settlement of the situation around that country and the achievement of national reconciliation.

PDRY Official Lauds Gorbachev Afghan Statement

LD201020 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Aden February 19 TASS—Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, has highly appraised CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan.

Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas said his country's leadership had thoroughly studied the document containing the Soviet stand and proposals in connection with the development of the situation in Afghanistan and in that region.

In this connection, he said, we highly appraise the constructive, positive and sincere ideas expressed in the statement and regard it as convincing corroboration of the friendly Soviet Union's foreign policy pivoted on a profound desire for peace and internationalism.

We believe the Soviet stand to be a stride forward, an example for settling various local conflicts, Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas said. The peoples suffering from such conflicts must give maximum support to the Soviet efforts in Afghanistan.

PDRY's Al-Bid's Activity in Moscow Reported

Visits Moscow Embassy

EA201950 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Brother 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, this morning paid a visit to our embassy in Moscow, during which he met with the leadership of the party organization and the embassy staff. In an address he referred to the main tasks in the economic, political, social, cultural, and party areas. He said the economy and the development of the peoples living and spiritual conditions were the prime tasks.

Meets YAR Envoy

EA212142 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Brother 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, met in Moscow today with Brother Muhammad 'Abd al-'Uthman [as heard], the ambassador of the northern part of the homeland in Moscow.

During the meeting, Brother 'Ali Salim al-Bid stressed the great responsibility which falls on the leadership of the two parts of the homeland to provide the best conditions for removing the obstacles which the imperialist forces keep trying to set up to obstruct the progress

of the march toward strengthening fraternal relations, which will in the end achieve the dream of our Yemeni people for unity and progress.

The meeting, which was prevaded by a cordial and fraternal atmosphere, was attended by Brother Dr Ahmad 'Abdallah 'Abd al-Ilah member of the Central Committee and PDRY ambassador in Moscow.

Weekly Interviews Jordanian Foreign Minister
PM191725 Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No. 7, 12-18 Feb 88 (Signed to Press 11 Feb 88) p 3

["ZA RUBEZHOM Interview" with Jordanian Foreign Minister Tahir al-Masri by special correspondent V. Chervyakov in Amman: "Better Now Than Later"; date of interview not given—first paragraph is ZA RUBEZHOM introduction]

[Text] In a conversation with a ZA RUBEZHOM special correspondent conducted in Amman, Jordanian Foreign Minister Tahir al-Masri expresses his views on Jordanian-Soviet relations, the situation in the Near East, and the prospects for settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Question: How do you assess the state of Soviet-Jordanian relations in the light of the recent visit by His Majesty King Husayn ibn Talal of Jordan to the Soviet Union?

Answer: We have every reason, especially in recent times, to consider Soviet-Jordanian relations to be excellent. They are based on complete trust and full respect for one another. Their high standard is largely attributable both to the Soviet Union's assistance and support for the Arabs' just cause and to Jordan's invariably firm stance on the region's problems. It is not all that easy to attain such a high standard in the conditions prevailing in today's international situation. Nonetheless, our countries have reached it. This is primarily a result of the fact that our approaches to the solution of political problems have recently drawn closer.

It is important for us that the Soviet leadership shows approval for the efforts made by His Majesty King Husayn to consolidate the Arab nation's forces. During the Moscow talks, the Soviet leaders spoke to us with sincerity about the need for unity as an important factor offering better opportunities to support the just cause of the Arab peoples. Let's be frank. Arabs have created major difficulties for the Soviet Union in the recent past. They have been successfully overcome because the Soviet Union has always stood on the side of the peoples of "third world" countries, including the Palestinian people.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Arab countries are now stable and independent of the moods of some leaders. In these conditions, particular importance is attached to the visit by His Majesty King Husayn to your country. His conversations with Soviet leaders revealed proximity and coincidence of views on the solution of the region's problems. We conducted a frank exchange of opinions on ways to overcome obstacles in the way to these problems' solution. Some officials in Jordan bluntly declare that, in terms of political thinking on, say, the approach toward the convening of an international conference on the Near East, we are now closer to the Soviet Union than to Jordan's traditional friends.

We hope that the Soviet Union will maintain a principled stance on the region's problems, including the Palestinian question, which remains the main concern of any Arab and any Arab leader. The Palestinians' uprising in the Arab territories occupied by Israel and the support it enjoys offer eloquent proof of this.

Question: In your view, what grounds are there today for regarding an international conference as the only means for establishing a just peace in the Near East?

Answer: Stability in the region is impossible without solving the Palestinian question. And this fact distinguishes this question from a number of other international problems.

It must be borne in mind that many countries are involved in the conflict. They include Arab countries—Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt—and the PLO. Israel is also included. Not a single one of these six sides can be excluded from an all-embracing and just solution to the Palestinian problem.

There are factors which contribute to the involvement of others in the settlement process, since neither the Arab countries nor Israel live in an isolated world. The actual nature of the conflict and the geographical location of the Arab world must be taken into account. Israel as a state was created by virtue of a UN General Assembly resolution (dated 29 November 1947—Editorial Office note). Since then, both the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council have adopted many resolutions on the Palestinian question. In our opinion, the UN Security Council and the UN secretary general must not be left out of the settlement process. On the basis of the fact that the Security Council has five permanent members—the USSR, the United States, Britain, France, and China—the number of interested sides is already a minimum of 11. This predetermines the fact that a settlement of the Near East problem as a whole and of the Palestinian problem in particular ought to be all-embracing and just to all. It must be backed by all sides.

At present there is no alternative to an international conference. Our viewpoint on this issue fully coincides with the USSR'S stance.

Question: What prevents the holding of this conference as soon as possible?

Answer: Israel is against the convening of a conference. Or, to put it more accurately, Israel's Prime Minister Shamir. He is its main opponent. And this is reflected in the U.S. stance, with the United States not being against the conference in principle and saying that it is prepared to discuss any option for a Near East settlement, including the idea of holding the conference. But the United States wants to amplify certain details with the interested sides before agreeing to it being convened. Our stance is as follows: Agreement on details is possible, but there must be previous agreement in principle to convening the conference. And this is where we differ from the United States. Many in the world agree with us.

Question: How do you explain the intransigence of Israel's present leaders on the question of convening a peace conference on the Near East? It is hard to imagine that the Israeli people are not interested in peace.

Answer: It is obvious why Shamir is against it. He considers that all the occupied territories are an inalienable part of Israel, and bluntly says so. And the purpose of the peace conference, as we understand it, is to achieve the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories and the return of these territories to Arab sovereignty. Shamir realizes that he would gain no benefit from the convening of a conference which will actually demand serious concessions of him.

And yet a treaty between the Arab countries and Israel is inevitable. Not a single one of them is interested in maintaining a conflict situation. We offer a solution according to the formula "peace in exchange for territory." This is a fair stance.

No matter what Shamir and the Israeli leadership do, the Palestinian people's demands will ultimately be satisfied, even though more blood may have to be shed and more efforts may have to be made.

Question: How do you assess events on the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip? Could they influence Israel's policy?

Answer: It is evident that no matter how cruel the measures Israel applies—violence, torture, psychological pressure—it will not break the Palestinian people's will. But actions like these cannot fail to inflict pain and suffering to the Israeli community itself. A 25-year old Israeli soldier who is killing today has already lost some of his human nature. This soldier, on his return home, will create problems not only for his family but also for the whole of society.

I recently had a conversation with a leader of the U.S. Jewish community who showed interest in the Near East problem. I told him that Israel will be putting its own neck in a noose unless it embarks today on a just settlement of the Near East problem. We recognize that Israel is a military power and even has its own nuclear potential. But Israel is building up its military might to meet an external threat. The threat now is actually developing internally. Neither tanks, nor aircraft, nor nuclear weapons can be of help here. The stone in a Palestinian's hand today is as mighty as an Israeli soldier's assault rifle.

The question is, is Israel living in greater security today than 20 years ago, when it occupied Arab lands as a consequence of aggression?

If Israel were to pursue its present course without liberating the Arab lands, I cannot even imagine the position in which it would find itself by the end of the century. The difficulties which it will encounter will bear no comparison at all with its present difficulties. And then it will not be helped by either military might, or nuclear potential, or U.S. support, no matter how great they might be.

Let us recall that German Nazism proved incapable of resisting the peoples' will for freedom and democracy. The United States did not bring the Vietnamese people to their knees. Israel itself was forced to abandon a considerable part of southern Lebanon which it had occupied, despite the Israeli Army's vast superiority over the Lebanese patriotic forces. Israel will not be able to retain the West Bank and the Gaza Strip forever by force of arms. Hard times will befall Israel if it decides to remain as an alien body in the region. Outside support will not guarantee its security.

Question: What measures are being taken now by Arab countries, and by Jordan in particular, on the settlement of the Near East problem, bearing in mind that the Palestinians' uprising is creating a new situation in the region?

Answer: Indeed, the uprising has become a new and important element of the Near East situation. It led to the convening of a special Arab League conference at the foreign minister level in Tunis, which I attended. We discussed the prevailing situation. From Jordan's viewpoint, which it outlined in Tunis, this general uprising has introduced some substantial factors which must be taken into account when solving the Near East conflict. At the international level, we must utilize it in the interests of the Arabs. Bearing international conditions in mind, the situation forces us to act energetically at all levels so as to advance the process of a peaceful settlement in the region. At the Tunis conference, Jordan actively supported the USSR's proposal on practical measures aimed at preparing for an international conference on the Near East, as outlined in USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's letter to the UN secretary general. It was decided to set up a seven-member commission, made up of representatives from Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Tunisia, Algeria, the PLO, and the League secretary general, to coordinate Arab countries' actions within the UN framework to assist the convening of an international conference on the Near East and to support the risen Palestinian people. As one of the commission's

seven members, Jordan embarked on consultations with the Soviet Union. And we hope that our stance will be understood by the Soviet leadership.

If the seven-member commission works in a coordinated fashion, we could say that we have entered a new period of joint actions by Arab countries on the question of a Near East settlement. We hope that the commission's first session will be held in Amman, it being the city that is nearer than other Arab capitals to the events taking place in the occupied lands.

Israel's Rabin Attempts To 'Justify Terror'

LD220918 Moscow TASS in English 0905 GMT 22 Feb 88

["Yitzhaq Rabin Justifies Violence"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington February 22 TASS—Israel's Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin, in a bid to justify terror unleashed by the Israeli Army on the occupied Arab lands, asserted on Sunday that Tel Aviv uses violence in reply to violence.

When there is violence, the Israeli side uses tear gas and rubber bullets in reply. If these measures are ineffective, the Israelis use the necessary force, like police in New York, he said in a CBS T.V. interview

Such measures to "lessen violence" have already led to the deaths of at least 60 Palestinians on the occupied Arab lands. They were killed by Israeli soldiers since the beginning in mid-December of mass actions against the Israeli occupation, which have now acquired the dimensions of a popular uprising.

Group Sends Greetings to Palestinian Party

LD192201 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Feb (TASS)—On the occasion of the 19th anniversary of the establishment of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Presidium of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the countries of Asia and Africa has sent a greetings telegram to the leadership of the front, all its activists, and combatants. It says that the Soviet public sets a high value on the front's contribution to the Palestinian people's struggle for national self-determination, the creation of its own independent state, and for a stable peace in the Near East. The telegram angrily condemns the policy of genocide and arbitrary rule being waged by the Tel Aviv rulers against the population of the occupied Arab territories and contains a request for an end to the bloody plunder.

Current events on the Left Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip are convincing proof of the necessity for a most rapid and just solution to the Palestinian problem by calling an authoritative international peace conference on the Near East with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, the document stresses.

East Europe

Kessler Arrives for Armed Forces Anniversary

LD211930 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1857 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, 21 Feb (ADN)—A delegation from the NVA [National Volksarmee] led by the GDR's minister for national defense, Army General Heinz Kessler, SED Central Committee Politburo member, arrived in Moscow today. They will take part in the celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy.

The GDR guests were warmly welcomed at the airport by Marshal of the Soviet Union Vikto Kulikov, Commander in Chief of the Joint Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states and USSR first deputy defense minister.

Nuclear-Free Zones Committee Set Up in GDR

LD190403 Moscow TASS in English 0019 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Berlin February 18 TASS—The preparatory committee of the International Meeting for the Creation of Nuclear-Free Zones was formed in the GDR capital today. It includes prominent party figures of the republic. The committee works under the patronage of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR Erich Honecker.

On the same day the committee adopted the address to the public of all the continents. The address emphasizes that disarmament is the key to the solution of all the global problems of humanity and expresses the confidence that the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles set the beginning to this process. The ideas of the creation of buclear weapons-free regions, zones and corridors advanced in the north and the south, the east and west, indicate the road to the removal of the danger of nuclear annihillation.

By this address signed by the GDR leader the committee set the beginning to the preparation for the international meeting for the creation of nuclear-free zones that will be held in Berlin from June 20 to June 22, 1988.

Solton Views Missile Withdrawal From GDR

LD181320 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Soviet servicemen are getting ready for the withdrawal of shorter range missiles from the German Democratic Republic. This is what Radio Moscow's Yuriy Solton writes:

The missiles were deployed in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia to offset the American Pershing-2's and cruises that have been positioned in Western Europe. These nuclear weapons fall under the Soviet-American treaty for scrapping 2,611 ground-based medium- and shorter-range missiles. Their dismantlement is to begin after the treaty comes into force, but the Soviet Union on agreement with the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia decided to start pulling out the missiles without waiting for the ratification. An act of goodwill of this kind surely reflects the Soviet leader's determination to speed up the process of real nuclear disarmament.

As it has become known from official sources, the Soviet Union unilaterally stopped making and testing shorter-range missiles on 8th December, when the treaty was signed. The United States continues to refuse to follow the Soviet example. It was announced the other day that more Pershing-2 tests were carried out in Cape Canaveral with the declared intention of checking combat readiness. Nominally Washington has not broken the agreement that was reached last December, but it's natural to ask why weapons have to be manufactured if they are to be scrapped soon. Some groups in the United States seem to continue hoping the treaty will be rejected by the Senate.

An influence is probably exerted by the munitions companies that profit greatly from the production of missiles. The Soviet Union closely watches the action [word indistinct] Washington (?on) both the agreement reached last December and the treaty's discussion in the American Senate. And it will react accordingly.

Honecker Address on GDR Economy Analyzed

PM170919 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov dispatch under general rubric "From the Socialist Countries": "E. Honecker's Speech"]

[Text] Berlin, 15 Feb—Traditionally, every year the SED Central Committee holds a conference with first secretaries of party Bezirk committees at which a review of the SED's foreign and domestic policy is presented and current tasks are formulated. E. Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, delivered a report at the last conference which took place a few days ago. He dwelt on topical questions ensuing from domestic and external conditions of the further building of socialism in the GDR.

The speaker stated that people in the GDR are attentively following the development of the processes which are under way in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries. At present this development is characterized by a great diversity of reassessments and changes which are expressed in various forms. It is a question here of an acceleration of socioeconomic development and the further enhancement of people's living standards which simultaneously make socialism more palatable and attractive in the world competition with the capitalist system. Together with the other socialist countries, the GDR has been working for decades to reveal socialism's potential even more effectively.

The socialist states' entire past experience shows that the building of socialism is a constant creative search for better ways to resolve new tasks and problems. It is important to ensure that every country reacts promptly and flexibly to new demands in accordance with its specific national and international conditions. As for the GDR, it has never considered the elaboration of its strategic concept of the further building of a developed socialist society as completed. It is an ongoing process of profound political, social, and spiritual transformations, as the SED program states. In accordance with the prevailing national conditions this constantly demands new answers to questions life poses so the sociopolitical course which centers on the unity of the economic and social policy can be consistently continued.

It goes without saying, the speaker said, that we study and use here the experience of other socialist countries acquired in the process of socialist building. However, this by no means signifies that we are simply copying it, which would be harmful.

E. Honecker spoke in detail about the problems of national economic development in the GDR. In our country, he declared, there are a number of questions which are being analyzed in depth and are being assessed by the party, and we will always have to adopt decisions and implement changes in order to cope with the demands which people are making on socialism. The most important criterion remains man and his needs. In the implementation of these tasks it is necessary to consolidate both the leading role of the party of the working class and its alliance with the parties, mass organizations, and associations united in the National Front.

After noting the successes achieved in the development of the country's national economy in the past year the speaker pointed out: The 1988 plan proceeds from the principle of setting high targets based on the realistic appraisal of our means and potential. As is known, in 1987 national economic plan targets were lowered to some extent for individual sectors [oblasti]. There were reasons for this. The cuts in planned production, however, did not eliminate national economic needs. Whatever had not been achieved in production growth was lacking also in distribution, and this noticeably affected production, foreign trade, and supplies to the population. To alleviate the consequences we had to make substantial purchases in the nonsocialist world.

In 1988 it is necessary to enhance the prestige of the state national economic plan. The path to this goal is not smooth. The "adjustment" of plans is no solution. Wherever problems arise they must be soberly analyzed and resolved jointly by the efforts of combines on the main highway of intensification, by coupling science with production, and by making ever better use of key technologies.

The speaker noted that in 1987 there were difficulties in specific sectors which had now been surmounted at considerable cost. Analyzing the reasons, we frequently come across individual combines and enterprises that have failed to fulfill their annual plans.

The report draws attention to the need to reinforce labor discipline. As a result of absenteeism and idling of equipment up to 23 million working hours are lost annually. Absenteeism alone accounts for 15.9 million working hours. Party organizations and labor collectives must not tolerate this.

A central place in the further implementation of our economic strategy is occupied by scientific, technical, and economic cooperation with the USSR, E. Honecker said. During my meeting with Comrade M.S. Gorbachev on the occasion of the October jubilee last year, we noted unanimously that the relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union are being raised to a qualitatively new level. Direct contacts between combines, associations, and enterprises are being expanded on a planned basis. At present there already are 120 agreements on direct cooperation. They account for 48 percent of the GDR's exports to the USSR under the national economic plan.

A substantial integral part of cooperation is the GDR's contribution to the extraction of raw materials and energy resources on the territory of the USSR. Recently a government agreement was signed on the GDR's participation in the creation of the Krivoy Rog mining and enrichment combine. The GDR will supply high-performance equipment for this combine. Up to 3,000 workers from the GDR will be working directly at the site.

E. Honecker described the party's tasks in the further development and enhancement of socialist democracy and the improvement of ideological work. We are already focusing on the upcoming 40th anniversary of the GDR. Under the SED's leadership, our people have traveled a path rich in struggle, labor, successes, and experience. A flourishing socialist state which represents a real alternative to the capitalist exploitation system has grown up on German soil. We are rightly proud of this.

GDR Paper Views Dissent, Western Links

LD190041 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Berlin February 18 TASS—Under the heading "Who Masterminds So-Called Opposition in the GDR", the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published an item which specifically says:

The investigation into actions against the GDR proved convincingly that the imperialist secret services and anti-socialist centres in the FRG and West Berlin linked with them exert themselvs to knock together forces within the GDR operating against social order, to organize the so-called internal opposition. Persons who are hostile to the republic and renegades, above all those, who have already been taken to account for their unlawful actions, who left the GDR and crossed over to the enemy camp are recruited for the implementation of these plans aimed at undermining socialism.

Certain politicians in the FRG and West Berlin get in touch with those persons when this suits their purposes. They mastermind them and supply them with funds, writes the body of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The newspaper gives the names of those who are involved in hostile actions against the German socialist state.

The anti-socialist campaign of slander against the GDR unleashed by Western secret services and the mass media is aimed at distracting the attention of the world public from progress that has been started in the area, to call in question the policy of a dialogue that the GDR conducts in the international arena, to interfere in internal affairs of the Republic to accuse it of alleged violations of the Helsinki Final Act, particularly in the human rights area.

The facts cited in the article show convincingly that those subversive elements not only engage in intensive anti-state and anti-socialist activity but also maintain close ties with imperialist secret services and [passage indistinct].

Further on Kulikov Budapest Interview

LD192318 Budapest MTI in English 2048 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 19 (MTI)—"PANORAMA", the world policy magazine of the Hungarian television, broadcast an interview with Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, Friday in the evening.

Answering a question on military doctrines, Marshal Kulikov said:

"The military doctrine of the Soviet state has always been of a defensive nature. It was a clear manifestation of the doctrine that the heads of all Warsaw Treaty member states adopting the doctrine at the Berlin session of the Political Consultative Committee interpreted its political points in a uniform way—the struggle for disarmament and for the averting of wars waged with nuclear or conventional weapons and, if enemy aggression necessitates, the striking of an annihilating blow. Our military doctrine, the military doctrine of the Soviet Armed Forces and the Soviet State as well as the military doctrines of the socialist countries are uniform with

regard to their political point. All are of a clearly defensive nature. At the same time I would emphasize that one cannot deny the existence of some specific features in the defence of each state. This is very important. All countries have their own characteristics, their organizational structure, perhaps some specific features in military training, which is also reflected by the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty member states. We have a military doctrine based on common principles: The principle of reasonable sufficiency, and the unconditional defence of security, socialist achievements and peace. We are all interested in what we mean under the reasonable sufficency of armed forces. There is only one answer: That is sufficient that reliably guarantees the security of all states, the defence of each state separately and that of the Warsaw Treaty member states as a whole. These statements were endorsed in the resolution of the political consultative committee and kept in view by our armed forces."

Reporter: Do you think the other side, the NATO circles, can ever accept this principle? And will they ever be prepared to act accordingly?

Kulikov: The principle of the concept and interpretation of sufficiency is identical. They strive for this principle and express from a similar approach their position on reasonable sufficiency and the necessity of maintaining forces that guarantee their security. I would call attention to the specific features that characterize the armies of the NATO bloc, and recall the formal NATO statements. While our doctrine expresses the principle of sufficiency and its main feature lies in its defensive nature, the leaders of the NATO bloc seek to take a stand for the doctrine of flexible reaction and principle of superiority of power which they consider the best way of defence for the Western countries. While we talk of the principle of sufficiency, the West seeks to surpass the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty in both quantity and quality.

Reporter: Do you think it possible to come to an agreement on a nuclear-free Europe?

Kulikov: This is the most important issue. I would like to lay emphasis on the endeavour and commitment of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, and their initiatives: Imposing a ban on nuclear weapons, establishing nuclear-free zones, for instance in the Balkans, the initatives of comrade Honecker and the leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for creating a nuclear-free corridor, and Comrade Jaruzelski's initatives, ideas and doctrine. So far we have received no answer to these proposals. All of them are good, reasonable and correct initatives that would eliminate all nuclear weapons in the first phase, and lead to a reduction in conventional weapons in the second. We hope that we will one day achieve positive results.

Reporter: The concept of perestroyka, that of restructuring, implies that something has to be destroyed as well. The process of restructuring can also be interpreted as one harming some interests. And if so, there should be people who oppose perestroyka. What is your opinion?

Kulikov: Taking the living conditions into account, a radical restructuring is also required in the army. The phenomena of stagnation should be eliminated and the old ways of thinking transformed in all fields. Although the activity of the armed forces is governed by the service regulations, commands can be carried out in different ways. What we call restructuring and a new way of thinking require more initative from us as well. The service regulations should be interpreted more reasonably and carried out exactly and fully. Of course, some people have a conventional way of thinking as reflected in their ideas. We are struggling against that way of thinking. However, we will simply say to those who are incapable of understanding what is new, continue to work with the old methods and make an old-fashioned approach to the current processes, that it is time to yield their places to people who understand how to work and what to do under the conditions of perestroyka and the new way of thinking, Marshal Viktor Kulikov said in conclusion.

Prague Journalists Visit Missile Base

LD132035 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Feb 88

[Text] A group of journalists from the socialist countries accredited in the Soviet Union, who visited a missile operational base in the vicinity of Rechitsa in southeast Belorussia, returned to Moscow this afternoon. From there our resident correspondent in the Soviet Union, Lubomir Sisak, brought with him a unique report:

[Sisak] It is Friday, 12 February, 1988 shortly before 1:30 p.m. A siren is announcing a combat exercise alarm at the Rechitsa operational base of Soviet missile troops, located in a beautiful pine forest about 50 km from the town. We are standing near three hangars toward which three five-member squads of soldiers are running past us, each five-member group runs to their own allocated hangar. Three members of each squad are opening the door of their hangar while the other two—a driver and a commander—are running inside. We hear the sound of engines revving and gigantic 12-wheel vehicle carrying an enormous cylindrical container is coming out of the hangar nearest to us. This is a unique occasion because this colossus, which carries in a container an RSD-10 intermediate-range nuclear missile, known in NATO terminology as SS-20, combat ready, is being shown for the very first time in public. One hears television cameras whirling and photo-cameras clicking. My tape recorder can only record the sound of the engine. We all are experiencing the uniqueness of this situation. It is the first time a Soviet minister of defense has extended this opportunity to see live a transporter with a missile at full combat readiness. Up to now only pictures of a transporter carrying the missile were published in the press, with the Soviet side providing the picture. Later, U.S. television reporters were given an opportunity to film only a model of the SS-20 missile used for exercise purposes.

At the front of the transporter there are cabins on both sides, one of them occupied by the driver and the other one by the commander. These two men are sufficient to handle the missile and to make it ready for launching.

Climbing down from the cabin opposite us is a young, nice-looking commander of the vehicle, Aleksandr Pakhiliy. I learn from him the basic details:

[Begin Pakhiliy recording in Russian fading into Slovak translation] The length of the transporter is about 20 meters, the width is in excess of 3 meters, and the height is 3.5 meters. The missile transporter can reach the speeds up to 40 km an hour, which corresponds to the speed of heavy-duty transporters of this category. [end recording]

He is unable to provide more parameters. We have been given the explanation that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles has not yet been ratified, an explanation which is fully understandable.

Other questions of mine concern his opinion of the treaty signed in Washington and what will happen to them when the garrison is dissolved:

[Begin Pakhiliy recording in Russian fading into Slovak translation] I and all my comrades in combat understand very well that the treaty is in accordance with all demands and efforts of nations to bring about international security. We all are now impatiently waiting for the ratification of the treaty by both sides. But at present we are completely ready to fulfil any order or any task given to us by higher command. The standard of combat readiness of our garrison and of this up-to-date equipment ensures that any such task will be fulfilled. We know that according to this treaty this equipment will be destroyed. Our qualification as engineers enables us to be transferred without any problem to service in other branches of the armed forces, so we have no worries at all in this regard. This equipment secures our defenses and the elimination of these systems will only strengthen overall security, because, after all, the other side will also have to destroy such missiles. [end recording]

Moscow TV Describes CSSR's 1948 Anniversary

LD201427 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1020 GMT on 20 February in its "In Countries of Socialism" program presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev carries a 5-minute feature with video report from Czechoslovakia by correspondent S. Andreyev on the 40th anniversary of February 1948.

Over views of "February 1948-88" posters with which Prague is presently bedecked and archive footage of an open-air rally addressed by Gottwald and other scenes from February 1948, Andreyev recalls the events leading up to "victory, denoting a continuation of the policy of social transformations and the construction of socialism."

As the camera turns to scenes of present-day Prague, including a Soviet tank mounted on a plinth, Andreyev observes that "at each turning-point the paths of our peoples come into contact and are interwoven and interrelated." He says February would not have been possible without the victory of the Soviet Army and the liberation of Czechoslovakia.

CPCZ General Secretary Milos Jakes is shown being interviewed on board an aircraft on his way home from his meeting with Gorbachev in January. He says, according to the Russian voice-over: "It was a very useful meeting, and also a necessary one. I became general secretary recently. It was necessary to have consultations on how we are to go forward together. There are many spheres of joint interests. Our meeting was comradely, direct, and frank [otkrovennyy]. We touched on all aspects of the work of our parties, and that is no coincidence. We are proceeding along a common road. We want to accelerate social and economic development in the interests of our peoples, and we want to do this by means of restructuring and democratization of society."

Back in the studio Lyubovtsev adds: "Czechoslovakia, like our country, has now entered a period of glasnost, renewal, and major economic reforms. In December 1987 the CPCZ adopted a comprehensive program of restructuring of the economic mechanism and democratization of society. It is similar in many respects to the processes of transformation in the Soviet Union. Both here and there the talk is of the creation of a new system of economic operations, management, and planning, of a transition from administrative to economic methods, of the independence of collectives and enterprises, of elected managers, and so forth.

"It is typical that the enemies of Socialist Czechoslovakia, who are currently waging a propaganda campaign in the Western press, are of course focusing their attention on a completely different date, the 20th anniversary of the events of 1968. Moreover, they are trying to maintain that the current restructuring and glasnost in Czechoslovakia are only a copy or a continuation of those events. RUDE PRAVO has characterized all these fabrications as an obvious and crude lie. After all, 20 years ago rightwing forces in Czechoslovakia tried to undermine socialism, to divert the country from its chosen path and, as it were, to exact historical revenge for February 1948. But the processes of restructuring which are going on in Czechoslovakia and other socialist states are aimed at developing socialism, at opening up the whole creative potential of the socialist system."

Polish Ambassador Natorf on Reforms, Problems

PM201945 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 88 Second Edition p 6

[Interview in Moscow with Wlodzimierz Natorf, Polish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, by B. Averchenko and O. Losoto under the rubric "Meetings at Your Request": "Republic's Ambassador"; date not given—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] The mail from readers includes many letters whose writers ask to be told about various aspects of life in the socialist countries and inquire about the work of their missions in Moscow. Our readers N. Terekhov (Vidnoye, Moscow Oblast), V. Borisevich (Brest), and others ask: What questions do the fraternal states' embassies resolve, what do they tackle, and what kind of people work there?

PRAVDA's Socialist Countries Department has decided to conduct a number of conversations with the fraternal states' ambassadors. The first meeting was in the Polish Embassy in the USSR. [passage omitted]

[PRAVDA] Your reform is called a radical reform. As is known, its main areas are the revival of initiative, self-financing, self-management....

[Natorf] The chief aim at the second stage of the reform is to ensure growth of national income and to preserve it at the level of approximately 4 percent over the next few years. It is necessary to make good as quickly as possible the lag in the sphere of scientific and technical progress. The radical improvement of product quality and the saturation of the domestic market with goods are on the agenda.

[PRAVDA] Not everything in life is always achieved at once. What problems are there, what has already been done, and what must be done in the very near future?

[Natorf] We began transferring enterprises to self-financing and self-management a little earlier. Only at the end of last year did we reform the "center." We changed...

[PRAVDA] The management mechanism?

[Natorf] Yes. The management mechanism. It is not a question of how we merged or eliminated certain ministries. The chief point is that they now have new powers, new functions. Enterprises have far more rights and potential for efficient work. Enterprises must use the powers granted them and not look over their shoulders, as was their wont, awaiting instructions from the center. I will not hide the fact that some bureaucrats at the "center" still work in the old way. They must also restructure themselves.

[PRAVDA] Both you and we have similar problems here.

[Natorf] We are taking parallel courses.

[PRAVDA] Your reform is closely linked with the processes of democratization which you are implementing. This is a unified complex. I would like to speak about these processes. What has been done, and in which direction are they proceeding?

[Natorf] That is correct: The reform and the democratization processes are interconnected. There are very many manifestations of democratization. For example, the Consultative Council has been set up under the Council of State chairman. It includes prominent public figures of, I would say, mixed ideological hue. It includes people who considered themselves on the opposition. It has turned out that it is possible to meet, discuss complex internal questions, and arrive at some general conclusions.

An ombudsman for citizens' rights has begun operating. We will see how this organ works. We have a mixed commission of the government and the Catholic Church leadership which is operating increasingly actively. This commission touches on questions which are complex both for us, our party, and for the church. Questions of morality are discussed: that there should be no pilferers or drunkards, that people should work better, and that families should not break up. Regarding such questions of ethics, for example, we have no or almost no special contradictions with the church here. Why not cooperate on these problems?

[PRAVDA] We particularly wanted to ask a question precisely about the Polish Church and its relations with the state....

[Natorf] In the past our church was not on very friendly terms with the socialist power. But certain processes and changes are also taking place here. We cannot deny our church's positive phenomena on a historical plane from the viewpoint of Polish statehood. You know Poland did not have statehood for more than 120 years. It must be said that the Catholic Church in Poland was an important element in the struggle for the restoration of our independence. But that, let us say, is remote history. Let us take more recent times: the years of fascist violence and the Hitlerite occupation of Poland over almost 6 years. In very rare instances Catholic priests collaborated with the Germans, but, conversely, the church was very frequently also a seat of the underground struggle against fascist Germany. Thus, from the patriotic viewpoint, the church is close to the people. Of course, ideologically it is totally incompatible with socialist power. But if we build relations with the church not on the basis of what divides us but take issues on which we can cooperate as our basis, then, of course, the necessary points of contact will also be found.

[PRAVDA] Playing on certain difficulties in Poland, Western radio stations and centers of subversion report that the opposition is again raising its head there. How do things actually stand?

[Natorf] Some people in the Soviet Union evidently know that a so-called emigre government of Poland exists in London. After the war this was a serious matter. It now sounds ridiculous, like a parody of reality. Of course, I would not say that precisely the same picture exists with "Solidarity," but things are moving toward this. Of course, "Solidarity" was strong for a little while. That happened because "Solidarity" acquired influence in the working class because of our serious mistakes in the past. I must remind you that "Solidarity" began under a slogan advanced by workers: "Yes to Socialism, No to Distortions of Socialism." Then it turned out that the leadership of "Solidarity" had said "no" to socialism. We wished once to find a common language with "Solidarity" in just the same way as we are finding one with the church. But "Solidarity's" leaders reckoned that power was already almost in their hands, and it was to have been power very closely linked with the West. A recent fact also attests to "Solidarity's" long-standing ties with Western centers: the $1 million allocated to it by the U.S. Congress for subversive activity. "Solidarity's" train has pulled out. As you know, new trade unions have emerged in our country. These trade unions are independent and autonomous, they show real concern for the interests of the working class, and they sometimes even enter into serious arguments with the government. There are many former members of "Solidarity" in the trade unions, including its activists.

"Solidarity" never had a constructive program. Nor do its present underground structures have such a program. They build everything on a foundation of negation.

[PRAVDA] Is Lech Walesa, their chief leader, a figure of prominence?

[Natorf] That depends on where you mean. People in the West remember him. I do not think he is a figure who is growing. On the contrary, he is gradually fading from people's memories. Walesa did nothing substantial for the country.

[PRAVDA] Now a question from a different sphere. Restructuring has also touched on various spheres of cooperation among the socialist countries. Political relations, the entire foreign economic mechanism, and the fraternal countries' cooperation in the international arena are improving. What new aspects do you see here?

[Natorf] I would elaborate: What is Poland's place in this process? We say—new political thinking. This is essentially a variety of restructuring in external relations. New political thinking also concerns our community. Much has been done over the past 2-3 years from the viewpoint of creating an effective mechanism of consultations to elaborate the fraternal countries' joint political line. We do not just support the policy of a particular country, we jointly elaborate that policy. A session of a new organ—the Warsaw Pact states' Special Commission on Disarmament Questions—was recently held in Warsaw at deputy ministerial level. This is also an innovation; it is very important and significant at this moment. The same can also be said of improving CEMA activity.

But the same process is also taking place in bilateral relations. Our meetings, talks, and consultations on many questions have become far more frequent. Emphasis has been placed on new forms of cooperation. Both in the economy and in the ideological and spiritual sphere.... I have in mind both joint enterprises and direct ties between plants and scientific research institutes. Of course, not everything is smooth here. There are difficulties. Nevertheless, I have already attended several meetings of collectives which maintain direct ties. The first good results are visible.

The first Polish-Soviet joint enterprise is already operating. The border exchange of goods is developing. When our tourist travels to the USSR, he knows what to take to you and what to buy from you. Your tourists also know this. Unfortunately, our foreign trade organizations do not always know what must be bought from our neighbor or what it will cost.

[PRAVDA] This all concerns the economic sphere. But in the spiritual sphere?

[Natorf] The same in the sphere of the superstructure. I am not speaking of local party ties and cooperation, which has expanded considerably in recent years. To be specific, I will cite the example of cooperation in the fundamental sciences. We have not really combined our countries' intellectual potential for joint work in scientific establishments and institutes. At the end of last year, for the first time, a group of more than 40 Polish scientists came to work for a long period at the USSR Academy of Sciences.

A complex task: how to inform each other of what is happening in our countries. Previously, as a rule, we always informed each other only of the good things. Now we endeavor to provide a more objective picture. We should, of course, show the successes, but also show the difficulties, problems, and even mistakes.

Such an important sphere as cooperation among young people. Contacts are increasingly developing between our youth organizations and the Komsomol. This is very important. Young people are our future. Everything happening in the Soviet Union is of interest to young people today. They are in favor of restructuring. Revolutionaries and the soldiers who rose up beneath October's banner once began it. It is now up to young people to develop those traditions. All questions of cooperation and of the need to deepen it and seek new forms are very clearly reflected in the declaration on cooperation in the spheres of ideology, science, and culture between the

Soviet Union and Poland signed by W. Jaruzelski and M.S. Gorbachev in Moscow last April. Less than a year has passed, but quite a lot has been done. Take, for example, such a simple question as personal human contacts. Tourism and individual trips have so increased over the past year that our means of transport—trains and aircraft—now simply fail to cope with transport operations. This obstacle must be surmounted somehow.

[PRAVDA] A few words about the so-called "blank spots."

[Natorf] You see, I would say briefly that the history of our relations has been very complex. But we do not bear direct responsibility for what once was, although it has, nonetheless, left a deep mark on the people's consciousness. Of course, there have been mistakes, and even during later times. The complexity of history determines to some extent the complexity of the process which we have jointly begun so as to eliminate so-called "white spots." It is a complex process, and it will take time to study these questions in depth and find corresponding solutions. It is only in a very simplified form that it seems that you have only to say "I am guilty" or "yes, something happened," and the problem will be eliminated. I am in favor of speaking about problems without political overheating, honestly and in depth. As M.S. Gorbachev said at his meeting with Polish Foreign Minister M. Orzechowski, who was in the Soviet Union on an official visit, historical questions must not be taken out of the context of events. So that one half-truth is not replaced by another. Our everyday life, human contacts, and the rapprochement between our peoples are also helping to gradually eliminate "white spots."

[PRAVDA] Does the comrade ambassador have, perhaps, anything to wish our readers?

[Natorf] Yes, I do. A Polish song dedicated to M.S. Gorbachev was heard at last year's Soviet song festival in Zielona Gora. Although, perhaps, not very perfect in form, it accurately expressed the feelings of Poles for what is now being implemented in the Soviet Union. We would like to wish for you that the restructuring continues to be implemented steadily and as quickly as possible and that it is embodied in concrete results in the economy, in science and education, and in all spheres of the superstructure. We—I wish to assure our Soviet friends—will do everything to ensure that our restructuring too does not slide or slow down but makes progress. We will help each other in this important, revolutionary process.

Progress of PZPR Reform, Cooperation Linked

PM171631 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 Feb 88 p 3

[Interview with Z. Sadowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Planning Commission, conducted by correspondent Ya. Lomko: "Poland: Reform and Prices"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A new prices and incomes policy, which has attracted the attention of broad strata of the public, was announced in Poland at the beginning of February. These measures form just one element of the second stage of the economic reform being carried out in the country. The plan for its implementation was submitted to a national referendum last December. Now it has begun to be implemented: Food prices have risen 27 percent and prices for all kinds of fuel and energy have almost doubled. As a whole state prices have gone up 40 percent.

What are the aims of the reform? How has it been progressing since the referendum? These and other questions were asked by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA's correspondent to Zdzislaw Sadowski, Polish Council of Ministers deputy chairman and its Planning Commission chairman. His answers are published below.

Sadowski: The referendum showed that the majority of citizens who voted—almost 12 million—supported the plans for radical and accelerated restructuring of the economic system in Poland. Support was given despite the substantial change in the prices structure and price increases, although this is causing great concern among considerable strata of the public.

The government came to the conclusion, however, that it was also essential to take the views of the minority into account. That is why the pace of the restructuring of retail prices has been substantially slowed down. At the same time the tasks and aims of the reform have not been altered.

The considerable increase in state prices on highly subsidized basic consumer goods proposed for 1988 is spread over 3 years. It is essential to stress here that the increase in state prices will not lead to a fall in living standards, since the rise in prices for basic goods and services is being made up by an increase in working people's money incomes. Those in receipt of grants and pensions will also be compensated in this way. The tenet that working people's real incomes (disregarding prices for alcohol and tobacco products) will not be reduced remains inviolable.

As a result of the change in the rate at which the new prices are being introduced it also becomes necessary to make certain adjustments in other areas of the second stage of the reform. It is essential above all to adjust the program of basic budgetary subsidies. To maintain the revenue component of the state budget at the requisite level it will be necessary to reexamine the timetables for the previously planned reduction in the level of enterprises' income tax and also adjust the level of taxation, which limits the increase in payments. This year's planned abolition of the regulation of retail meat sales is being postponed, which also makes it necessary to defer the elimination of the system of state meat purchases.

Lomko: How, then, are the fundamental tasks of the reform being tackled?

Sadowski: Work to implement the specific tasks of the reform is just beginning in many areas in accordance with the approved plans. In other areas, in the restructuring of central state management organs, for example, we have already made considerable progress.

Discussion during the preparation of the referendum provided a unique opportunity to draw attention to shortcomings and imperfections in the reform program. We are taking all ideas into account, fully respecting both the opinion of specialists and the opinion of the public, and will be making necessary modifications to the program. The programs for housing construction, consumer services, improving "citizen-government" relations, and many others are being improved and augmented.

These adjustments and additions, however, do not mean the overall structure and aims of the program are being altered. On the contrary, they are being retained.

Lomko: What precisely are they?

Sadowski: The following main thrusts are envisaged during the second stage of the economic reform:

To further increase the independence and responsibility of economic enterprises under conditions of strict self-financing while resolutely eradicating chronically inefficient economic units;

To set up economic, organizational, and legal conditions promoting the development of enterprise;

To pay special attention to the state sector while also ensuring equal conditions for all sectors of the economy;

To create conditions for improving labor organization and increasing labor productivity by introducing a system of incentives that excludes wage-leveling from labor evaluation;

To develop and strenghten self-management, particularly that of territorial and production collectives;

To further restructure the planning system and strengthen the strategic functions of central planning;

To further reorganize the structure of the organs of state management and their functions;

To bring the prices system and exchange rates into line with reality and develop the market mechanism and flexible forms of cooperation with foreign countries;

To speed up the restructuring of the country's entire economic structure with the aim of modernizing it, developing export potential, and also reducing energy- and materials-intensiveness.

These thrusts have not been subject to any change at all since the referendum.

Lomko: Please describe the mechanisms for increasing public initiative and the factors affecting enterprises and people's councils.

Sadowski: We consider the creation of material conditions ensuring real initiative on the part of enterprises to be a fundamental thrust to the development of initiative in the state sector. This primarily demands ensuring that leading cadres possess real rights, particularly the right to take risks. This also demands the development of free market circulation, particularly in the sphere of material supply, and also the creation of opportunities for efficient organizations to obtain equipment. The reform program envisages among other things the possibility of state enterprises' cooperating with any economic organizations—state or cooperative—and also in certain cases with private organizations, the pooling of resources for the purpose of joint capital investments, and also the issuing of bonds.

Difficult working conditions for enterprises, particularly the existence of numerous deficiencies in supply, and problems in obtaining foreign currency usually hamper the unfettering of initiative. Until recently leading cadres were forced to resolve these difficulties themselves. They have already obtained some opportunities in the sphere of concluding new contracts with partners in cooperation through cooperative unions and mutual financing of new undertakings.

Guarantees of freedom of activity and initiative are a determining condition for the development of enterprise in the cooperative sector of the economy. This is closely bound up with the need to limit the managerial functions and duties of central cooperative unions and to eliminate the excessively swollen bureaucratic apparatus in the cooperative movement.

Private economic activity must be developed as a complementary sector of the economy, particularly in those sectors of the economy like, for example, retail trade, the delicatessen business, and other services. Here it is envisaged that the procedures and rules pertaining to the organization and development of economic activity will be simplified.

The development of soviets' economic activity will proceed under the pressure of factors like increased needs. The basic conditions for soviets' initiative are being created—their income is increasing and the requisite legal power to pursue economic activity is being guaranteed them.

Lomko: What results do you expect from the restructuring of the price system?

Sadowski: The main weakness of the old system of economic management was that it did not automatically ensure balance between supply and demand because there were no satisfactory mechanisms to achieve that. The essence of the reform is to create such mechanisms. We want to reach the position in which the majority of prices for goods and services are established freely in response to supply and demand. In the past the basis was a system of prices which did not correspond to that principle. In the very first stage of the reform we took a big step in that direction when we introduced quite extensively what we call contract prices. The intention now is to go even further toward reducing the sphere of state prices. The majority of state prices are still being monitored with the aim of slowing their growth. But this year we intend to publish a list of free market prices not subject to control. This may affect those groups of goods on which a relative balance in the market place already exists.

The restructuring of the price system is aimed at making that system more realistic—it aims to bring prices into line with real social costs, to do away with the system of prices distorted by excessive subsidies, and thereby to introduce flexible price formation mechanisms which respond quickly to supply and demand conditions and which also have a reciprocal effect on the establishment of those conditions.

Lomko: What prospects for deepening Polish-Soviet economic cooperation are offered by the second stage of the reform?

Sadowski: One of the fundamental thrusts of the program for the second stage of the reform is to increase the production and improve the quality of output and to develop exchange with other countries. The Soviet Union is our natural and indeed largest exchange partner. Our goal is to increase reciprocal commodity exchange and to modernize its structure. The reforms being conducted in both our countries are conducive to that. Far-reaching opportunities already exist for developing reciprocal cooperation by means of direct ties between enterprises within the framework of interstate accords. This is a new approach, and we can already see its first results. We, for our part, will work to develop these forms of cooperation along with all other forms of industrial production sharing and specialization.

The coordination of socioeconomic development plans is of very considerable significance for the implementation of the schemes outlined in our program for the second stage of the reform. The coordination of these plans resolves the problem of long-term strategic development and stabilizes it in a number of spheres, such as raw materials supply, for example. Thus the coordination of plans promotes the implementation of schemes in the sphere of changing the economic structure as well as accelerating scientific and technical progress. The reform will help to develop cooperation and the development of cooperation will help to implement the reform.

USSR, SFRY Sign Commodity-Exchange Protocol

LD182216 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 1700 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] The signing of the commodity-exchange protocol between the USSR and the SFRY for 1988 in Moscow today marked the end of negotiations between the USSR and SFRY Government delegations. The talks passed in a business-like and comradely atmosphere.

It was stressed that the protocol will serve the further development of mutually useful trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. The document takes into account the commitments of the two sides stemming from the agreement on mutual commodity trade between the USSR and Yugoslavia in the period 1986—1990 and also other agreements in the field of economic cooperation.

The protocol insures that a high level of commodity exchanges will be maintained this year, and envisages a broad range of goods to be traded between the two countries, including various kinds of machinery and equipment, raw and other material; as well as industrial consumer goods. There will be a further development of cooperation this year on the basis of production cooperation in the fields of the automobile industry and in the production of walking excavators, timber processing equipment, television sets, and medical and air industry technology. During the talks, measures also were laid down to improve and enhance economic cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia.

The protocol signing ceremony was attended by Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations, and Milan Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR.

West Europe

Gorbachev Congratulates Finland's Koivisto

PM191911 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[M. Gorbachev message of congratulations to Finnish President Mauno Koivisto]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Mauno Koivisto, president of Finland:

I am sincerely happy about your election to the lofty post of president of Finland and send to you the most cordial congratulations on this occasion.

The Soviet Union highly values the fruitful relations of trust and friendliness with Finland—relations which go back to Lenin's decree on the recognition of Finland's

independence as a state and which rest firmly on the solid foundations of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid. With every passing year, relations between the USSR and Finland enrich the model that they have created of cooperation and collaboration between states—a model that is a graphic demonstration of the realism of the idea of restructuring international politics on a nonviolent footing and introducing into it the primacy of equal rights and mutual respect for each other's interests and individuality.

Recalling our recent meetings in Moscow during your official visit, meetings which gave fresh impetus to the development of Soviet-Finnish relations in all spheres, I would like to stress that the Soviet leadership is greatly interested in continuing personal contacts with you—your country's president and someone who is actively promoting the reduction of military confrontation and development of extensive peaceful cooperation in Europe and beyond.

I wish you, Mr President, successes in your multifaceted and responsible activity, and I wish the friendly Finnish people happiness and prosperity.

M. Gorbachev

UK's Thatcher Remarks in Brussels Criticized

PM191511 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent Yu. Kharlanov article: "Taking the Bull by the Horns?"]

[Text] Brussels, 18 Feb—British Prime Minister M. Thatcher has completed what she describes as the first official visit by a British head of government to the NATO political and military headquarters.

At a press conference in Brussels, M. Thatcher immediately took the bull by the horns, so to speak. Once again she frightened journalists with the "enormous Soviet superiority" in conventional weapons and talked about London's commitment to the doctrines of "nuclear deterrence" and "flexible response." She devoted much time during the question-and-answer session to defending NATO plans to "modernize" both conventional and nuclear weapons and to the program which the press has frankly described as an attempt to circumvent the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in order to maintain and even increase NATO's nuclear might in Europe. M. Thatcher tried to mask the aim of these projects.

A question from your PRAVDA correspondent: "Tell me, Mrs Prime Minister, are the plans to 'modernize' and build up NATO's nuclear weapons in Europe an attempt to compensate for the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles to be eliminated once the treaty has been ratified?" Her answer was a lengthy discourse about how the term "compensation" is inapplicable here and how it is rather a question, according to her, of a long-term program, drawn up by NATO long ago, it seems, to "modernize" nuclear weapons. She also said that the new "Tridents" are based on old designs and that NATO decided on the other nuclear systems back in October 1983 in Montebello.

This response clearly did not satisfy journalists, who immediately asked another question: How does this tally with the decision to station an extra 60 F-111 nuclear-capable aircraft in Britain? The answer to this was that projects of this nature may be dictated by strategic necessity.

As we can see, in Brussels M. Thatcher confirmed that the British Government is now the pacesetter in the buildup of tension in East-West relations and is trying to behave as though the situation in Europe had deteriorated since the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

UK To Withdraw Minesweeper From Persian Gulf

LD200037 Moscow TASS in English 2252 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] London February 19 TASS—Britain intends to withdraw one of its four minesweepers from the Persian Gulf, said here today Ian Stewart, minister of state for the British armed forces. He pointed out that the remaining three ships in the region would continue operating in close cooperation with naval forces of other countries, especially those of Belgium and the Netherlands.

Kohl, Genscher Talks in Washington Previewed

PM191505 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent Yuliy Yakhontov "Correspondent's Commentary": "They Will Not Be Bringing Any Roses"]

[Text] Bonn, 18 Feb—FRG Chancellor H. Kohl and Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher arrived in Washington today. A number of important issues which are causing the FRG Government concern are due to be discussed during their meetings with President R. Reagan, Secretary of State G. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury J. Baker, and prominent American senators and congressmen.

First of all, according to the newspaper GENERAL-ANZEIGER, which is close to the Foreign Ministry, the Bonn representatives intend to insist that NATO finally develop a general concept on disarmament and arms control problems and that the problems of conventional and nuclear tactical weapons be finally linked. In Bonn's opinion, the absence of such an integrated concept is impeding further progress in these matters.

H. Kohl wants to make sure that the United States is really interested in considerably expanding relations with Eastern Europe. He insists on the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting of CSCE member-states this spring so that the West can develop more flexible positions with regard to human rights issues (including the holding of the proposed conference in Moscow).

Bonn believes that progress in the conventional weapons sphere depends on the outcome of the Vienna meeting. The aim set by the West, namely, to eliminate the Soviet Union's "superiority" in conventional weapons, demands the earliest possible start to the appropriate talks, in the chancellor's opinion. One should bear in mind, however, Bonn notes, that this process will be long and gradual.

As far as the nuclear arms problem is concerned, H. Kohl intends to reemphasize the FRG's great interest in the speediest possible ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the conclusion of a treaty on strategic offensive arms. In the opinion of the Bonn leadership, the structure of the West's nuclear potential, including systems with a range of up to 500 km, and modernization requirements are just details. Taking U.S. concern into account, H. Kohl has said that the Federal Government categorically rejects the creation of a nuclear-free Europe and also the "third zero option" concerning tactical nuclear weapons with a range of up to 500 km.

A complete ban on chemical weapons is another of the FRG Government's priorities although, as they are saying here, hopes of a speedy conclusion to work on the UN convention on this problem have diminished. Bonn will also insist that the old U.S. chemical weapons remaining in FRG territory be removed by 1992. The exchange of letters between the chancellor and the President on this problem in 1986 are considered "legally binding" here. The newspapers are predicting that the road taken by the FRG delegation in Washington this time is not going to be strewn with roses. Never before have the Bonn leaders had to set off across the ocean with such a bag of differences.

Talks With Reagan End

LD201311 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Washington February 20 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports:

At the close of the talks between Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and U.S. Administration leaders, President Reagan said that matters concerning the state of affairs in NATO, including joint defence efforts and strategy in arms control issues as well as progress in determining future priorities for NATO in the field of arms control had been discussed, in particular, during his meeting with Kohl.

Reagan said the priorities included talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on a 50-per cent cut in strategic arms, a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons, as well as the straightening out of a serious disbalance which, in the opinion of the West, exists in conventional arms in Europe.

Chancellor Kohl in his speech emphasized an immense importance of the INF Treaty signed during the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. He emphasized that never before in the post-war history had the United States and the Soviet Union conducted such an intensive dialogue at summit level as over the past several years.

The signing of the INF Treaty, the chancellor went on to say, opened the way for genuine disarmament for the first time in history.

Kohl voiced support for the steps towards an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on reducing strategic arms, and urged the U.S. Congress immediately to give consent to ratification of the INF Treaty in the form in which it had been signed. He also called for balancing out conventional armed forces in Europe, for a global ban on chemical weapons, and, in integration with that, for a verfiable cut in short-range nuclear systems, i.e. tactical nuclear arms in Europe.

In connection with Kohl's pronouncement about the need to reduce tactical nuclear arms in Europe, analysts here immediately paid attention to the fact that Reagan in his speech fully passed over in silence the question of reducing such weapons, thereby reaffirming that the United States still comes out in favour of their so-called upgrading, and not their reduction, i.e. favouring a build-up of the might of U.S. tactical nuclear arms in Europe, which, in expert opinion, would in many respects reduce to naught what had been achieved under the INF Treaty.

Such stand of the United States has been straightforwardly confirmed by a high-ranking administration spokesman during a briefing on the results of Reagan's meeting with Kohl.

Having said that, according to what the chancellor told the U.S. President, a debate on upgrading the short-range missiles stationed on the FRG's territory is irrelevant because new U.S. nuclear arms, namely, nuclear artillery munitions, are already being deployed there, the administration spokesman said a renunciation of modernization would be tantamount to one-sided disarmament. [sentence as received]

FRG's Spaeth Calls for Closer Cultural Ties

PM191553 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Feb 88 p 9

["Topical Interview" with Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg and deputy chairman of the FRG Christian Democratic Union, by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Anatoliy Frenkin: "Lothar Spaeth: A Lesson For Conservatives"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg and deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, received LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Anatoliy Frenkin and gave an interview in connection with the end of his visit to the USSR.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Mr Prime Minister, could you talk about the details of your meeting with M.S. Gorbachev and your personal impressions?

[Spaeth] My meeting with the CPSU general secretary made a profound impression on me. Questions were put to me of such scope that everything needed the most serious reflection. The conversation began with a very welcome suprise for me: Everyone drew attention to my article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and it was even mentioned in my talks with E.A. Shevardnadze and A.F. Dobrynin and at the Council of Ministers.

But I had also prepared a surprise. When I invited M.S. Gorbachev to visit the capital of Baden-Wuerttemberg, I reminded him that V.I. Lenin had lived in Stuttgart. In 1907 he took part in the work of the 7th International Socialist Congress. So my proposal to erect a commemorative plaque in Stuttgart in V.I. Lenin's honor was, I believe, a welcome surprise. What if people in the Soviet Union somehow commemorated some historical figure like, say, Bismarck, who advocated the development of peaceful relations between Germany and Russia...?

I also reminded M.S. Gorbachev of the fact that Turgenev, Dostoyevskiy, and L. Tolstoy...also lived in our part of the world, in Baden-Baden. We have already put up memorial plaques to Zhukovskiy and Gogol, and this has been reported in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, but it would be extremely appropriate to unveil a memorial plaque now in the house in which Turgenev lived for a number of years: In the M. Gorkiy Museum in Sankt Blasien, where the writer lived in 1921-1922 in a sanatorium and from where he corresponded with V.I. Lenin. Finally, we have offered the Soviet Culture Foundation the gift of an annual Hoelderlin scholarship intended for a Soviet specialist studying the historical and cultural ties between Russia and Germany. It will give them the right to study at one of Baden-Wuerttemberg's universities.

Speaking about our active desire to be involved in the implementation of economic reform in the USSR, I said to my interlocutor in Russian: "I am the engineer of restructuring."

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] You are a bold man, and apparently the only FRG conservative politician to prove that a Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union figure can avoid anti-Soviet rhetoric. Can we regard your experience as an object lesson given to other conservatives?

[Spaeth] Perhaps. I have always tried to convince my voters with a positive program. We have so many common problems that resolving them by joint efforts is our main task. A credit of trust must be formed more actively, East-West hostility overcome, and common efforts pooled for nature conservation, cultural development, and the preservation of world peace.

FRG Bundeswehr Delegation Visits Moscow

LD192021 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Summary] Moscow, 19 Feb (TASS)—A delegation of the FRG Union of Bundeswehr Servicemen is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Peace Committee. The delegation, led by Lieutenant Colonel Rolf Wenzel today met with members of the Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament group and representatives of the leadership of the Soviet Peace Committee.

"This is our first meeting with leaders of the Union of Bundeswehr Servicemen, a large and influential West German organization, General Vadim Makarevskiy said in an interview with TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov. There was an exchange of information on the activities of our group and the Union of Servicemen. We were united in thinking that it is necessary to continue establishing contacts. In particular, it was proposed to our guests that they send an observer to the meeting with representatives of the Washington Center for Defense Information, led by Admiral Jean Larocque, scheduled for July in Moscow. We also expressed our wish to continue our discussions in the FRG. I think this issue will be resolved positively, the general said. During the meeting today, the coordinator of the group stressed, we also dealt with the main political issues, including, specifically, the need to change the military doctrine of all European countries to a purely defensive one. I think, General Vadim Makerevskiy concluded, that the meeting that has taken place will promote common interests and will be our contribution to the strengthening of mutual understanding between peoples."

Visit 'Positively Assessed'

LD210115 Hamburg DPA in German 1617 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The chairman of the German Bundeswehr Association, Lieutenant Colonel Rolf Wenzel, has positively assessed his 3-day visit to Moscow. It was the first visit by a delegation from the association to the Soviet Union. The organization represents the interests of serving and former Bundeswehr soldiers and their families.

In talks with representatives of the Soviet organization Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament, they held a satisfactory and open exchange of opinions, Wenzel stated in Moscow. They were also able to visit the military desk of the party paper PRAVDA, during which the Soviet side suggested an exchange of journalists to report on the armies of both countries. No concrete agreements were made at this time.

High-Level French Group To Attend NATO Session

PM221513 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Vladimir Bolshakov dispatch: "Full Circle?"]

[Text] France gasped on hearing President F. Mitterrand state on the TF-1 TV channel that "a conference will be held in Brussels in early March at which the leaders of the NATO countries will determine their policy in the sphere of disarmament and peace. I am to attend and again represent France at it...."

We are talking about the participation of the French head of state in the NATO Council session to be held in Brussels 2-3 March. It was 22 years ago—in March 1966—that France left the bloc's military organization. But even when it was part of it the country's president never participated in the work of the NATO Council. In its entire history, its sessions have only ever been attended by two prime ministers—Jacques Chirac in Ottawa in 1974 and Pierre Mauroy in Bonn in 1982. But now France will be represented at the Council by President F. Mitterrand, J. Chirac—who again became prime minister in March 1986—and Foreign Minister J.-B. Raimond.

Such high-ranking representation is explained in official circles by the fact that exceptionally important questions are on the agenda for the Brussels NATO Council session. First and foremost, they will be discussing NATO strategy following the elimination of the intermediate- and shorter-range U.S. missiles sited in West Europe in accordance with the treaty signed in Washington by the USSR and the United States.

The very well-informed newspaper LE FIGARO intimates that in his speech to the council F. Mitterrand intends to voice his opinions about this new strategy and "defend European interests."

In the opinion of LE FIGARO, these interests were considerably infringed during the Soviet-U.S. summits in Reykjavik and, particularly, Washington. F. Mitterrand, the newspaper states, "will call for these interests to be taken into consideration during the forthcoming meeting between R. Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev in Moscow in the first half of this year."

By the "defense" of these interests, Paris—as can be judged not only by the articles in LE FIGARO and other newspapers, but by official statements—means the retention rather than the complete removal from the continent of nuclear weapons that threaten the very existence of the European peoples. Paris, in particular, resolutely opposes the "third zero option"—that is, the elimination in Europe of tactical nuclear weapons, enough of which have been accumulated to completely wipe out every living thing from the Atlantic to the Urals, if not beyond.

This position is largely explained by the desire of the French leadership, both the socialist president and the Gaullist prime minister, to build up French nuclear potential, including through the introduction of new intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, that is, weapons of precisely the classes to be destroyed in Europe under the Soviet-U.S. agreement. This policy is provoking increasingly resolute protests from broad circles of the French public. Literally on the eve of F. Mitterrand's speech on television, activists from progressive French youth organizations marched in opposition to the siting of new S-4 nuclear missiles on Plateau d'Albion. A group of demonstrators had their way blocked by police near the town of Saint Christol. One of the leaders of the demonstrators—Marcel Fyashi [surname as published]—rightly stated that, by deploying the S-4 missiles, the French leadership is trying to replace the U.S. missiles being withdrawn from Europe with its own missiles.

France is undertaking a nuclear arms race while building up its efforts to knock together a military-political alliance with the FRG, in which Britain is also to be involved. There have been arguments about whether this duplicates the NATO military organization and is detrimental to it, or, on the contrary, is a way of strengthening the bloc. Paris makes no secret of the fact that the French leaders' attitude toward NATO is now by no means the same as De Gaulle's. Objectively, the French Armed Forces operate one way or another, hand in hand with the NATO military command and from time to time (although shamefully hiding this from the press and the general public) even participate in its military maneuvers.

LE FIGARO states that this level of French representation at the forthcoming NATO Council session has given rise to natural questions in certain capitals about whether this gesture is not a step in Paris' return to the NATO military organization. The Elysee Palace immediately explained that it was a question of participation in a "top-level political meeting," rather than a "meeting of military bodies." Whatever the case, the unprecedented participation by such a high-ranking French delegation in a leading NATO organ certainly attracts the attention.

CPSU Delegations Leave for Spain, Portugal

PM191156 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by I.S. Boldyrev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Stavropol CPSU Kraykom, left for Madrid on 18 February at the invitation of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE] leadership to take part in the work of the 12th PCE Congress.

A CPSU delegation headed by Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, left Moscow for Lisbon on 18 February at the invitation of the Portuguese Socialist Party [PSP], to take part in the work of the Seventh PSP Congress.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Cited on Relations

LD191518 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Lisbon February 19 TASS—Portugal's Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro has noted the successful development of the Soviet-Portuguese interstate relations.

Speaking at the Portuguese National Defence Institute in the city of Porto yesterday, he emphasised that new opportunities for deeper cooperation in the political, economic and cultural spheres had recently arisen in relations with the Soviet Union.

The Portuguese foreign minister described Portugal's relations with East European socialist countries as stable on the whole and said that they were based on cooperation in spheres of mutual interest.

Round of Greece-U.S. Base Talks 'Inconclusive'

LD192339 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Athens February 19 TASS—The third round of Greek-U.S. talks on the future of U.S. military bases in Greece has been inconclusive. An official representative of the Greek Government, Ioannis Roubatis, stated in this connection that the American delegation set out its view on the position of Greece, formulated at the previous round of the talks. He also reminded that five months before the expiry of the term of the existing bilateral agreement the Greek Government will notify the USA which will have 17 months in which to remove its military facilities from the territory of the country. Ioannis Roubatis again pointed out that if the two sides agreed to keep the American bases in the country, a nationwide referendum would be held. The next round of talks is scheduled to take place in a month.

Greece's democratic public is opposed to the presence of "death bases", as the American military facilities are referred to here, on the territory of the country. The Panhellenic meeting of peace campaigners called for the immediate elimination of the U.S. military facilities.

Independent Candidate Wins Cyprus Election

LD220904 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Nicosia February 22 TASS—The presidential election on Cyprus has been won by left-wing forces. According to preliminary returns, independent candidate Georgios Vassilious supported by the Progressive Party of the Working people—Cyprus, left-wing democratic forces and a number of trade unions emerged victorious from the second round of balloting, which took place Sunday, with 51.63 percent of the votes.

He will be president of the Republic of Cyprus for the next five years.

In keeping with the constitution, Vassilious is to be sworn in in a week's time, succeeding current head of state Spiros Kiprianou.

In a televised statement right after the returns were announced Vassiliou called on compatriots to strengthen unity in the name of saving their fatherland.

He stressed during his campaign that he would apply efforts to take the Cyprus problem out of the deadlock through collective decision-making, talks and contacts with Turkish Cypriots.

He said also that a solution to the Cyprus issue could be reached on the basis of UN resolutions andhigh-level agreements.

The international aspect of the problem, Vassiliou said, should be resolved by convening an international conference and conducting parallel dialogue between the two communities on the island—the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots.

Latin America & Caribbean

Further on Visit by Venezuelan Delegation

PM221441 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed "Joint Report on Visit to the USSR by Venezuelan National Congress Delegation"]

[Text] A Venezuelan National Congress delegation comprising C. Canache Mata (head of the delegation), A. Vivas Terran, V.U. de Paolo, and L. Perez Loyo was in the Soviet Union on an official visit 14-21 February 1988 at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The delegation was received by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The delegation also had meetings and conversations with A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and members of the chambers' standing commissions.

In addition to Moscow, the Venezuelan guests visited Kiev and Leningrad, where they were briefed on the activity of local organs of state power and visited industrial and agricultural enterprises.

During the conversations, which proceeded in a frank, friendly atmosphere, the Venezuelan parliamentarians were informed in detail of work designed to accelerate socioeconomic development and democratize all spheres of Soviet society's life and on the international aspects of restructuring.

They discussed topical international problems and issues concerning bilateral relations.

The Soviet and Venezuelan parliamentarians noted with satisfaction that their countries' attitudes coincide on the majority of central international problems. They expressed their states' commitment to the principles of building a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

The sides noted with satisfaction that certain progress has been made in the task of reducing nuclear arsenals.

They were unanimous in the opinion that the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington, during which the two sides signed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and decided on the agenda of the talks between the Soviet and U.S. leaders in Moscow in the first half of this year, was, without doubt, a very major event in world political life. In this respect, they specially emphasized the importance of reaching an accord on a 50-percent reduction in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive weapons and also of adhering to the ABM Treaty.

The members of the delegation voiced their satisfaction with the accords reached, as they are in the vital interests of all countries.

The sides advocated the earliest possible end to all nuclear tests, on the condition that there is effective international verification, and noted the need to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and strengthen Latin America's nuclear-free status. In this connection, they confirmed their determination to strengthen the treaty to ban nuclear weapons in Latin America (the Tlatelolco Treaty) and spoke out in favor of creating nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world, particularly a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic.

The Soviet and Venezuelan representatives spoke in favor of the earliest possible conclusion of talks on an international convention to ban all types of chemical weapons, including binary weapons. The Venezuelan parliamentarians regard the Soviet Union's termination of its chemical weapon production and its construction of a special enterprise to destroy stockpiles as an important step in this direction. The sides were satisfied to note that there have recently been positive developments at the talks on banning chemical weapons.

The two countries' parliamentarians noted the close link between disarmament and development, emphasized the urgent need to really implement the principle "disarmament for development," and noted that the achievement of real progress in disarmament would make it possible to channel additional resources into solving many vital economic and social problems, particularly in developing countries. In this context, they emphasized the importance of the results achieved at the international conference on the link between disarmament and development held in New York and of making every effort to find ways to establish a new international economic order.

When discussing regional conflicts the sides voiced serious concern at the persistence and exacerbation of hotbeds of tension and spoke firmly in favor of the peaceful solution of these conflicts in line with the generally recognized principles and norms of international law and provisions of the UN Charter.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies underlined the constructive efforts made by Venezuela as a member of the Contadora Group to achieve a just political settlement in Central America without any pressure or use of force. The Soviet and Venezuelan parliamentarians expressed their belief in the need to make further progress in the task of finding a Latin American solution in this region and consistently to implement the Guatemala accords—supported by the international community—reached by the presidents of five Central American states.

The Venezuelan parliamentarians expressed satisfaction with the Soviet Union's determination—stated in the announcement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee—to promote the earliest possible political settlement of the Afghan problem, which will help to reduce tension in this region.

USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and members of the Venezuelan National Congress expressed satisfaction with the current state of friendly ties between the two countries. At the same time, they noted the existence of unutilized potential in the task of developing all-around Soviet-Venezuelan cooperation and confirmed their willingness to contribute to strengthening equal, mutually advantageous relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Venezuela. They particularly underlined the importance of the continued progressive development of trade and economic relations. The sides are sure that regular parliamentary contacts are both useful and important and will strive to develop them in the interests of international peace and cooperation.

The Venezuelan parliamentarians expressed their gratitude to the USSR Supreme Soviet for the warm reception given to the delegation. They also expressed their appreciation for the mass media's extensive and objective coverage of their visit.

AUCCTU's Makeyev, Venezuelan TU Leader Meet

PM191751 Moscow TRUD in Russian
17 Feb 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the AUCCTU"]

[Text] V.N. Makeyev, secretary of the AUCCTU, received Jose Carrascal, president of the Unitary Workers Federation of Venezuela [CUTV], at the Palace of Labor on 16 February. Carrascal is paying a working visit to the USSR.

During their conversation, the sides exchanged opinions on the situation in the international trade union movement. The participants in the conversation informed each other on the topical tasks of Soviet and Venezuelan trade union activity. Great attention was paid during the conversation to the socioeconomic transformations taking place in our country and the role of trade union organizations in the process of restructuring.

The meeting ended with the signing of a protocol on further developing ties and cooperation between the AUCCTU and the CUTV for 1988-1989.

B.A. Averyanov, chief of the AUCCTU International Section, took part in the talks.

Sandinist-Contra Talks End 'Without Results'

LD201142 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT
20 Feb 88

[Text] Guatemala City February 20 TASS—The talks between representatives of the Sandinist government and the contras on a ceasefire in Nicaragua ended here on Friday without results.

Victor Hugo Tinoco, the leader of the Nicaraguan Government delegation, told journalists that the contras continuously declined to discuss specific aspects of terms for cessation of armed actions.

Judging by other statements, at the talks the anti-Sandinist forces laid emphasis on political issues, demanding, in particular, changes of the Nicaraguan Constitution and a general amnesty.

At the same time Tinoco did not rule out the possibility of resumption of the dialogue in the near future.

Ortega's 'Determination' To Achieve Peace Noted

LD211746 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT
21 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 21 TASS—In a speech here President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has stated Nicaragua's determination to make efforts to achieve peace in Central America within the framework of the Guatemala agreements.

He pointed out that his country, at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the region in El Salvador, put forward specific proposals to create an effective mechanism for the supervision of compliance with the Guatemala accords.

A regular round of talks with the contras, to which the Nicaraguan delegation brought constructive proposals, became yet another vivid illustration of the national leadership's striving for the earliest settlement. However, the proposals were again rejected by the contras who represent the interests of U.S. ruling circles. They are not interested in termination of the armed fight but, on the contrary, try to drag out the explosive situation. The Somozists put forward demands for "democratisation" of Nicaragua, for a general amnesty, and for the repeal of the law on "patriotic military service".

The Nicaraguan Government, Ortega emphasized, consistently fulfils its obligations to democratise society. It has repeatedly stated readiness to grant a general amnesty following a ceasefire in the country. The same applies to the "patriotic military service" law which cannot be repealed as long as terrorist attacks by the contra groups are continued.

The Nicaraguan leader stated Nicaragua's readiness to continue to resist the U.S. aggression, to defend arms in hand the gains of the Sandinist Revolution, to strengthen the national economy, make political efforts to achieve peace in Central America.

Ortega Criticizes U.S. 'Obstacles' to Peace

LD221429 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT
22 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 22 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua, speaking here, pointed to the need for unswerving compliance with the Guatemala agreement by all Central American states.

Speaking on Sunday at the opening of a session of the National Assembly of the Republic, the president of Nicaragua said that at the Guatemala meeting last year the countries of the region were able for the first time to overcome the differences between them in the interests of attaining peace. The signing of the agreement at the meeting testified to the striving of the Central American states to oppose the policy of pressure, blackmail and aggression on the part of the United States.

But there are obstacles that might thwart the peace-making efforts of the states of the region, Ortega said. He strongly denounced the policy of the countries which are trying to make Nicaragua to unilaterally comply with the Guatemala accords. While demanding big political concessions from Nicaragua, they meanwhile ignore the fact that the United States uses the territory of Honduras as a springboard for aggression against Nicaragua, they keep silent on the Washington administration's attempts to finance the contra

gangs. The U.S. President's intention to provide the Somozists with more of the so-called "humanitarian" aid runs counter to the accords which envisage such support only to the formations which have laid down arms and joined the democratisation process. Any other aid raises obstacles to peace in Central America, is a violation of international law norms, decisions of the international court, the United Nations Organization, the Organization of American States, and an encroachment on Nicaragua's sovereignty, the president said.

Nicaragua, he said, is the only country to have taken concrete steps towards broader democracy. We have lifted the state of emergency, eliminated special anti-Somoza tribunals, agreed to direct ceasefire negotiations with contras. Nicaragua is ready at any time to provide its territory for verification by a competent international commission which, in its opinion, could include, apart from the Contadora Group and Support Group members, also representatives of Canada, Spain, Italy, Norway, Sweden and the FRG, said Daniel Ortega.

Over 6,000 Nicaraguans last year alone fell victim to the aggression which was unleashed by the United States against the Sandinist Republic. The damage inflicted upon the national economy made up over 375 million dollars. But notwithstanding the difficulties, the working people of Nicaragua attained some growth in farm and industrial output, the president said.

D'Escoto Proposes International Security Force

LD201136 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 20 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government has suggested that Central American countries create an international security force which would exercise control over the observance of the Guatemala accords signed last August by presidents of countries of the region. This was announced at a press conference here Friday by Miguel d'Escoto, minister of foreign affairs of Nicaragua.

On behalf of the Nicaraguan leadership, he expressed readiness to start bilateral talks on this problem with El Salvador and Honduras in the near future, which would undoubtedly promote the lessening of tension in Central America and the early establishment of peace in that explosive area.

It is worth mentioning that two years ago Nicaragua's proposal on the creation of an international security force was turned down by the Central American governments. In the opinion of the Nicaraguan national leadership, the international security force could include representatives of Canada, Spain, Italy, Sweden and West Germany which have repeatedly expressed their interest in the settlement of the regional conflict and the establishment of peace. Miguel d'Escoto said that the proposal would be discussed by the Central American governments and, in case of their approval, would be submitted for the consideration of the U.N. secretary general.

According to the Nicaraguan foreign minister, concrete proposals on the lessening of tension, guarantees of the development of the democratization process, national reconciliation and the establishment of peace in each of the countries were put forward at a meeting of foreign ministers in El Salvador. The ministers agreed on measures for a further development of regional economic integration and the return of refugees. Miguel d'Escoto pointed out at the same time the need for overcoming the existing differences between countries on the ways of establishing durable peace and on working out a common stand on the discontinuation of support for insurgent groups and the refusal to use national territories as a place d'armes of aggressions against neighbouring countries.

Paraguayan CP Greeted on 60th Anniversary

PM191411 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[CPSU Central Committee message to Paraguayan Communist Party on its 60th Anniversary]

[Text] Dear Comrades! The CPSU Central Committee sends ardent congratulations to the Paraguayan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the party

Operating underground, in conditions of continuous repressions, Paraguayan Communists have added glorious pages to the history of their people's struggle against the brutal pro-imperialist military-police dictatorship. Many Paraguayan Communists have died at the hands of executioners, gone through prison and torture, or disappeared without a trace. However, the party stood firm and continues to defend the working people's fundamental interests and strive for the unity of action of all forces that favor the country's democratic and independent development.

Bonds of friendship and solidarity have been uniting the CPSU and the Paraguayan Communist Party for 6 decades now. We value the support of the Paraguayan comrades for the CPSU's political initiatives aimed at the creation of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world and for the CPSU's course toward the restructuring and revolutionary renewal of Soviet society. Soviet Communists have always been and remain on the side of the courageous people of Paraguay, who have suffered so much.

We wish the Paraguayan Communist Party Central Committee and all Paraguayan Communists success in their work for the benefit of peace, democracy, and social progress.

The CPSU Central Committee.

Briefs

Cubans Celebrate Red Army Day

A festive session in honor of the 70th anniversary of the creation of the Soviet Army has been held in Havana. It was addressed by Raul Castro, second secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. He sent greetings to Soviet servicemen, noting that they are linked to the Army and people of Cuba by bonds of close fraternity. [Text] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Feb 88 LD*]

Political & Social

Politburo Discusses 18-19 Feb Plenum Decisions

LD192022 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] A CPSU Central Committee Politburo session held on 19 February examined priority issues involved in organizing the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee February 1988 Plenum decisions. It was proposed that party committees, state bodies, and public organizations implement measures aimed at deepening and expanding the reform in secondary and higher education in light of the plenum's directives. Proceeding from the principles contained in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the plenum, the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat and local party bodies have been charged with developing practical work to improve ideological provisions for the new stage of restructuring. The order for dealing with critical comments and proposals as voiced by participants in the Central Committee Plenum was established.

The Politburo discussed the USSR draft law on cooperatives submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers. It was noted that in accordance with the USSR Constitution, the draft law defines the economic, organizational, and legal conditions for the activity of cooperatives on the basis of the development of Lenin's ideas on cooperatives, as applicable to the contemporary phase of building socialism in our country. For a long time the role and significance of cooperatives were belittled. Their sphere of activity shrank and became restricted predominantly to agriculture and retail services for the rural population. As a result, the stongest aspects of the cooperative movement were undermined, particularly in those national economic and social spheres where, with its aid, it would have been possible to make effective use of labor and material resources to produce goods and services and satisfy people's growing requirements. The new law is designed to open up the vast potential of cooperatives, increase their role in accelerating the country's economic and social development and strengthen the process of democratizing economic life; it will create the conditions for involving broad sectors of the population in the cooperative movement.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo expressed its approval of the USSR draft law on cooperatives and acknowledged the expediency of putting it before the people for discussion.

Proposals on several matters of cooperative and individual labor activity were supported. It is intended to raise the role of local soviets of people's deputies in expanding the cooperative movement, which is aimed at the fullest satisfaction of the population's requirements for goods and services and organization of people's healthy leisure.

The Politburo approved the program drawn up by the government for the building and reconstruction of roads in the Non-Chernozem Zone in the RSFSR. In the 1988-95 period, it is intended to provide surfaced roads linking the capitals of the autonomous republics and the oblast centers with all the rayon centers, and the latter with the central farms, branches of collectives and sovkhozes, livestock units, and other agro-industrial facilities.

It was considered necessary to carry out major measures to develop the production base and to provide resources for the growing volume of road building, to enhance the quality of the designing, building, and maintenance of roads.

It was decided to create the necessary conditions for using progressive forms of organizing workers, labor engaged in building and reconstructing roads, and for providing incentives for such labor. It was emphasized at the session that implementation of the state program is of great political and social importance for the transformation of the Non-Chernozem Zone, the improvement of its economy and the raising of the material and cultural living standards of the population.

The session examined and approved the results of the meetings held by Comrades Gorbachev and Ryzhkov, and also of Comrade Yazov's talks with Indian Defense Minister Pant. It was noted that regular contacts and exchanges of messages with the Indian leadership are a pivotal element of friendly Soviet-Indian interaction aimed at ensuring reliable peace and security in Asia and in the world as a whole.

The Politburo reaffirmed the immutability of the course toward further developing and strengthening cooperation with India in all spheres of politics, trade, economics, science, technology, and defense.

The Politburo approved the results of the conversation of Comrade Gorbachev, and of the talks of Comrade Shevardnadze, with British Foreign Secretary Howe. It was noted that the Soviet-British dialogue, the tone and direction of which were set during the meetings between the leaders of the two countries, is becoming even more dynamic. It can become an important factor, not only of bilateral relations, but also of European and world politics. The importance was emphasized of consolidating the positive tendencies that are beginning to develop in Soviet-British relations, of deepening and expanding the infrastructure of contacts in all spheres which is taking shape, and also of developing both the forms of cooperation that have proved their worth, and new ones of a long-term nature.

Decisions were made at session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on certain other questions of party and state construction.

'Text' of Plenum Resolution on Gorbachev Speech

PM200805 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 88
Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of 18 February 1988; On the Speech by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee unanimously approves the provisions and conclusions contained in the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "Ideology of Renewal for Revolutionary Perestroyka". The speech contains a profound analysis of the new stage of perestroyka and sets forth the program for its ideological backup.

The plenary meeting stresses that all the ideological activities of the party organizations must be subordinated to mobilizing the working people and the labor collectives for tackling the chief tasks of restructuring—carrying out the radical economic reform and the democratization of all social life, and educating and nurturing the rising generation of the working masses.

The plenary meeting considers necessary a resolute renewal of the forms and methods of ideological, political-educational work, a firm assertion of social justice in conformity with the aims of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society.

The plenum approves the provisions and assessments of foreign policy issues contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech and points out the importance of explaining broadly the humanistic content and aims of the international activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state directed at firmly asserting the principles of equality and universal security in international relations.

The plenum instructs the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, party territorial, regional, city and district committees, and primary party organizations to draw attention to the need for the activists and all the Communists to focus resolutely on the ideological content of perestroyka, of strengthening the ties of the CPSU with the masses, of ensuring a close interaction of the Soviet, trade union, Young Communist League, economic bodies, ideological media and all cadres in the field of the economy, social policy and spiritual life. It is necessary to apply all the means of political work so that perestroyka should become the party cause of every Communist, the patriotic duty of every citizen.

Plenum Resolution on Education Issued

PM201151 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 87
Second Edition pp 1-2

["Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of 18 February 1988; On the Progress of Restructuring Secondary and Higher Education and the Party's Tasks for Carrying This Out"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee plenum stresses that the restructuring of general educational and vocational schools and of higher and secondary specialized education occupies a special place in the package of tasks which are being tackled by the party at the present historical stage. The aim of the transformations being carried out is to ensure a new quality of teaching and instruction of young people, the training of cadres, and the enhancement of their skills and thereby to create the necessary conditions for the acceleration of the socioeconomic and spiritual progress of Soviet society and the solution of tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

I.

1. The CPSU Central Committee plenum notes that during the restructuring of the public education system the attention paid by the party, soviet, and economic organs, and by public organizations to the problems of secondary and higher education has intensified. Certain positive changes are taking place in the content of education and in the labor instruction of students. The training of workers with a broad range of specialist skills is developing in the system of vocational and technical education. The process of pooling efforts of higher education, science, and production is burgeoning. Appropriations for public education have increased.

2. At the same time the CPSU Central Committee believes that the depth and pace of transformations in secondary and higher education do not accord with the needs of society at the new stage of restructuring. In such important fields as the improvement of teaching and instruction methods, technical equippedness, the management of the study and instruction process, and teacher training, many improvements have been insignificant so far. Advanced pedagogic experience is not receiving due dissemination.

The guidelines for reform drawn up prior to the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum were not underpinned by measures for the democratization of the system of public education. Teachers, parents, broad circles of the public, and labor collectives were not properly involved in its implementation. During the reform the activity of educational establishments was geared to satisfying the labor resources requirements of the national economy which was developing on an extensive basis. Problems and difficulties arose in the practice of combining general educational training and vocational training both in the schools and in the system of vocational and technical education.

The organizational work for carrying out the reform is inadequate. The USSR Ministry of Education, the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, and also the public education bodies at local level are displaying passivity and sluggishness in tackling pressing problems of the development of education. Aid to teachers frequently boils down to general guidelines and petty regimentation. The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education is only feebly launching work on the restructuring of higher and secondary specialized education. The local party committees and the local soviet and economic organs are not paying the necessary attention to tackling questions of public education. The residual approach to the needs of education and of educational establishments on the part of many sectorial ministries and departments is being overcome only slowly.

3. The CPSU Central Committee is placing before the party and state bodies and public organizations the task of ensuring an abrupt turnaround in the restructuring of public education in accordance with the decisions of the 27th party congress, and the provisions of the CPSU Porgram. As one of the decisive factors of economic and social progress, and a powerful means of preserving and developing the spiritual resources accumulated by mankind and handing them down from generation to generation, education must be a priority in state policy.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum proceeds from the premise that the teacher or educator is the decisive figure in the restructuring of the entire educational system. The success of the scheduled transformations depend to a decisive degree on his knowledge, pedagogic skill, and on his active, convinced, and passionate stance. The duty of the party and soviet organs is to change attitudes toward the teacher radically, resolutely, and without delay or hestitation, to free him of petty tutelage, to remove from him the burden of duties which have nothing to do with a teacher's work, to support creative, innovative questing, and to make as much time as possible available for the main thing—the teaching and instruction of students.

II.

1. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum deems it expedient to make changes to the guidelines on education reform, with a view to the follwoing:

The shaping and implementation of the concept of universal secondary education of young people as a basis for the subsequent training of cadres of skilled workers and specialists and for the all-around development of the individual;

The large-scale technical reequipping of the general educational, vocational, and higher schools, and the use of scientifically substantiated normatives in planning the development of public education, beginning with the 13th 5-Year Plan;

The elimination of departmental barriers and the pursuit of an integrated state policy in the public education sphere, the firm interaction of all types of educational establishments, and of science and production collectives;

The democratization of public education in every way and the enhancement of the independence and responsibility of educational establishments' collectives;

The transformation of the system of training and retraining pedagogical cadres, and the radical improvement of scientific-research work in the sphere of public education.

In the vocational and secondary specialized schools the training of workers and specialists should be developed primarily on the basis of secondary education, retaining the opportunity for young people to acquire a vocational education after ending their incomplete secondary education. In the general educational school the teaching of worker skills should be carried out according to the wishes of pupils and parents and commensurate with the creation of the necessary conditions.

2. The transition to universal secondary education of young people has radically altered the social role of the general educational school in society and has sharply increased its responsibility for the the effectiveness of training and instruction, and has put forward the demand that the Leninist principles of the socialist school as an integrated polytechnical education for labor be fleshed out with modern content.

The CPSU Central Committee attaches fundamental significance to the fact that our education, as an integrated education, should give all its graduates a fully fledged secondary education and should open up equal opportunities before them. The unity of the aims and tasks of education must be organically combined with the diversity of the schools, the flexibility of educational syllabuses and curricula, and must be based on advanced pedagogic practice and innovative methods of training and instruction.

Paramount attention must be paid to developing students' individual capabilities and expanding differentiated training according to their needs and inclinations. The network of specialized schools and classes involving deeper study of various topics must be developed.

The schools are required to promote students' active involvement in productive work and in the system of social labor relationships and to inculcate in them the multifarious habits of work. Students' jobs must have a purpose, a connection with life's real needs, a usefulness to society and the family, and the potential to offer knowledge and pleasure.

The polytechnical aspect in schools must be consistently deepened, basic notions about the new technologies must be taught, together with up-to-date economic, legal, and ecological knowledge, and care must be taken to ensure that secondary education standards are kept constantly in line with the demands of scientific-technical and spiritual progress. The setting up of a ramified state youth vocational guidance service must be accelerated, with the general education schools acting as an important element in it.

General educational, labor, cultural, and moral training in schools is meant to help young people choose a profession, a sphere of work, and avenues of continuing education consciously, with society's requirements in mind, and to take an active part in social and political life.

3. Ensuring a high quality of vocational and general educational training for worker cadres and the growth of political and civic awareness among young recruits to the working class constitutes a most important condition of accelerated social and economic development. The vocational-technical education system and the national economic sectors' production training network must concentrate attention on resolving this important task. Vocational-technical schools linked to base enterprises as well as specialized inter-sector schools capable of turning out workers trained in the skilled and integrated professions must be still further developed. Everything must be done to broaden the practice of training and retraining worker cadres under contracts with associations and enterprises. State monitoring of the quality of training for worker cadres in all forms of vocational schooling must be stepped up.

4. It is incumbent on party, state, and economic organs and social organizations to boost efforts on restructuring higher and secondary specialized education. The CPSU Central Committee plenum emphasizes that the outlined program of reforms must be implemented comprehensively. The tasks of radically improving the quality of specialists' training, utilizing them sensibly in the national economy, and further developing scientific research must be resolved on the basis of strengthening higher education's links with production and practice. For these purposes:

A flexible system for cadre training must be established which can meet society's requirements for specialists in different areas in a timely way and which accords with the demands of scientific-technical progress, the radical reform of the economy, democratization, and the development of self-management. The quality of specialist training at all educational establishments must be improved, and VUZ's which are poor in cadre and material-technical terms must be strengthened or, if necessary, re-formed to become branches of leading universities and institutes;

Effective forms for integrating higher education with production and science must be energetically introduced and the organizational-economic mechanism for collaboration between higher education and national economic sectors improved; VUZ and enterprise combined teaching, science, and production complexes must be set up, and dual-subordination scientific research institutes and laboratories established (by the academies of sciences and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education). Contractual relationships must be developed between VUZ's and enterprises and associations, providing for the possibility of sending graduates to work under direct contracts between the VUZ's and enterprises;

There needs to be a substantial increase in the contribution made by experts in higher education to the elaboration of problems with statewide significance. In elaborating concepts for the USSR's economic and social development for the 1991-2005 period, the USSR Gosplan and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, in conjunction with the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the USSR Academy of Sciences, must make provision for an increase in the proportion of state appropriations for the development of scientific research in higher education.

The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the sector ministries and departments are confronted with the task of raising secondary specialized education to a qualitatively new standard and introducing timely changes into the structure and content of cadre training and into the forms of organizing the teaching and instructional process. The activity of these educational establishments must be oriented more fully on training people to be organizers of the primary labor collectives and specialists in the latest technical and technological spheres.

5. The CPSU Central Committee plenum instructs ministries, departments and party organizations to pay particular attention to implementing the measures elaborated by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to set up a state system to provide additional training and retraining for cadres. The formation of the corresponding network of educational establishments must be completed, making maximum use of the potential of higher and secondary specialized education and vocational-technical schools and doing everything to develop different forms of mass teaching in production.

6. The USSR Council of Ministers is given the task, with the discussion at the CPSU Central Committee plenum in mind, of submitting proposals for amendments and additions to the previously adopted documents concerning the reform of general and vocational-technical education and the restructuring of higher and secondary specialized education.

III.

1. The CPSU Central Committee plenum is promoting as a practical task the implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress' strategic directive on creating a system of continuous education encompassing all components of instruction—preschool and adult education institutions, general education and vocational-technical schools, higher and secondary specialized educational establishments, and the system for improving qualifications and retraining cadres. Self-education must become an internal requirement, an everyday matter for everyone, and an inalienable part of the Soviet way of life.

It is important to give everyone the opportunity to constantly upgrade their knowledge through various forms of training, including extension studies, the system of political and economic studies, people's universities, and various courses and lectures. To that end it is necessary to make more active use of the mass media, particularly television and book publishing. The desire to master knowledge and attain spiritual growth must be extensively encouraged and be given public and state recognition.

2. The fuller implementation of the Leninist principles of the organization of schooling and the creation of a modern democratic structure for administering public education are decisive prerequisites for accelerating the restructuring of secondary and higher education.

To that end we must extensively develop self-management initiative, make educational establishments independent, give them the power they need in this respect, and increase their responsibility for high-quality training and instruction of the younger generation. At schools and vocational and technical colleges it would be expedient to set up social organs—councils—in which students, labor collectives, social organizations, and parents would be widely represented along with teaching personnel. Collegial and democratic forms should be developed in the administration of higher and secondary specialized educational establishments. The principle that the leaders of educational establishments and their main subunits should be elected and made accountable is to be consistently implemented.

The creation of state and public organs to administer education under the soviets in rayons and cities—public education councils elected at conferences—shall be deemed expedient. Their concern is to support and disseminate front-ranking experience in training and instruction, to develop universal teacher-training education [pedagogicheskiy vseobuch], and to take measures to improve educational establishments' material supply.

Collaboration among all public education components should be stepped up and the line pursued of creating the conditions for amalgamating their administrative organs.

The role and responsibility of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in providing scientific back-up for the restructuring of public education is to be stepped up, and it is to be reorganized and made interdepartmental, with scholars focusing their efforts on the comprehensive elaboration of urgent problems of the formation of the individual, continuous education, and communist instruction.

3. The CPSU Central Committee plenum stresses the need to implement major measures to strengthen the material and technical base of public education and to ensure its technical modernization.

The funds channeled into its development are to be increased in order to ensure: the complete satisfaction of the requirement for preschool institutions; a transfer to schools operating mainly on the basis of single-shift classes; the creation of the conditions needed for the fruitful work of teacher-training VUZ's and institutes offering refresher courses for teachers; the formation in every rayon and city of a range of adult education centers; the substantial strengthening of the material base of higher, secondary specialized, and vocational schools; and the improvement of the social and consumer conditions of teachers and students. The USSR Gosplan, USSR ministries and departments, and union republic councils of ministers shall define specific timetables for resolving these tasks for each republic and region.

Large-scale measures for reequipping educational establishments are to be implemented. The development and expansion of the production of modern technical teaching aids in line with world standards, teaching and scientific training equipment, instruments, and toys in both the public education system and in sectors of the national economy are envisaged. The development of modern plans for educational and instructional establishments is to be accelerated and the transfer to construction based on these plans is to be ensured on a tight schedule.

It is necessary to radically improve the preparation and publication of textbooks, teaching manuals, and teacher-training literature. The requirment for these items from students, teachers, and parents is to be fully met and additional print runs of textbooks for open sale are to be organized.

IV.

1. The CPSU Central Committee plenum regards it as a very important task of party, soviet, and public organizations and teaching collectives to step up the communist education of student youth and mold their consciousness in the spirit of restructuring. The ever-present task is that of inculcating dialectical thinking in young people and instilling in students and schoolchildren an "integrated revolutionary world-outlook" (V.I. Lenin),

based on unity between the party's theoretical and practical activity in renewing all spheres of society's life. It is necessary to give a thorough and intelligible demonstration of the wealth of ideas contained in the decisions and materials of the 27th party congress and CPSU Central Committee plenums, in Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues," and in his speech at the present plenum. It is necessary to convincingly demonstrate the continuity of generations, explain the unbreakable link between the transformations taking place in the country and the party's and the people's heroic gains, reveal our people's great past in a truthful and responsible way, and instill in young people a desire to augment the historical experience of the fighters for socialism.

The entire practice of teaching social science disciplines must develop the capacity for independent judgment and help students consciously master the scientific conclusions reflecting the dialectics of life. It is necessary to instill in young people a high degree of ideological commitment, scientific materialist views, and the ability to assess social phenomena from clear-cut class positions.

2. In all their activity schools are meant to cultivate a labor way of life and enhance the prestige and instructional role of the main job of schoolchildren and students—study. It is necessary to establish in every educational establishment an atmosphere of hard academic work and a committed, creative, and responsible attitude to the acquisition of knowledge. As well as becoming more exacting, it is necessary to intensify in every way the incentives for outstanding study, encourage young people to participate in creative scientific and scientific-technical activity, and make the forms of this work more varied. The CPSU Central Committee regards it as intolerable for students and schoolchildren to be diverted during study time to work or events that are not connected with the study process.

3. It is necessary in practice to teach young people how to live and function in conditions of deepening democracy. To this end it is necessary to create in educational establishments all the conditions for openness and glasnost, mutual respect and cooperation between teachers and schoolchildren, professors and students; to develop independence in schoolchildren and students and provide them with broad scope for useful initiative and creativity. It is necessary to instill general, political, and legal culture and the culture of socialist democracy and ensure that young people have a thorough grasp of the constitutional rights and duties of the USSR citizen. It is necessary to organize universal legal education as a unified statewide program covering all strata of the population and all cadres in the center and at local level.

4. It is necessary to considerably intensify the patriotic and international education of young people. A sense of involvement in the traditions and values of the Soviet homeland and the great history of our multinational country and an awareness of the sacred duty of being loyal defenders of the fatherland are to be instilled from childhood. The entire atmosphere in educational establishments must be permeated with the spirit of internationalism, friendship, and fraternity among the Soviet peoples.

A vigorous effort must be made to actively develop national-Russian bilingualism, to fundamentally improve the study and teaching of the languages of the USSR's peoples and the Russian language, voluntarily adopted by Soviet people as a means of inter-nation intercourse, and to widen in schools the practice of joint teaching in Russian and in native languages. The study of the local national language by young people of other nationalities is to be encouraged. On the matter of the language of instruction, no privileges or restrictions or administrative meddling are permitted.

5. Attention must be stepped up to the molding of communist morality and the atheist education of the rising generation. It is necessary to foster in young people lofty spiritual needs, aesthetic tastes, and a need for physical improvement.

With a view to stepping up the aesthetic instruction of children and young men and women and firmly immunizing them against spiritual aridity and the influence of bourgeois "mass culture," it is necessary to familiarize them thoroughly with the best achievements of world and domestic culture, to develop their artisitic creativity in every possible way, and to skillfully and persistently propagandize genuine people's art. The Komsomol, the trade unions and creative unions, the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR State Committee for Cinematography, and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting must join the schools in making this a matter for their concern.

In order to extensively involve young people in physical fitness and sports the existing base facilities at educational establishments, sports societies, and enterprises must be strengthened and utilized more efficiently irrespective of their departmental jurisdiction, and the training of physical fitness cadres must be improved by pooling the efforts of public education organs, the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee to this end.

An urgent task for the CPSU Central Committee is to enrich in every possible way educational work outside school hours at people's places of residence. The main thing here is to involve each child, teenager, or young person in special-interest classes and fill their spare time with technical and artistic creativity, sport, or tourism. Constant attention must be paid to amateur youth associations, and the socially useful thrust of their activities should be promoted along with the satisfaction of young people's healthy interests and needs.

6. Party, soviet, and public organizations, labor collectives, and society as a whole are called upon to increase their concern for the shaping of solid, morally healthy, and spiritually rich families, for mothers, and for children as the country's future. It is necessary to increase parents' responsibility for children's education and for preparing them for life and work. Cooperation between families, schools, and labor collectives must be deepened.

Particular attention should be devoted to the system of preschool education as a most important step in the formation of individuals that largely determines their subsequent development.

7. The CPSU Central Committee plenum instructs union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms to resolutely improve the standard of political leadership of the education and instruction of children and young people, to profoundly look into the content of the work of educational establishments, and to competently resolve any problems in a businesslike way. The role of primary party organizations at educational establishments in implementing the restructuring of secondary and higher schools and in mobilizing the efforts of teaching and lecturing personnel and students to improve the quality of training and instruction must be increased, and concern must be shown to strengthen primary party organizations at educational establishments.

Party raykoms and gorkoms, taking account of the low numbers of party organizations at schools, colleges, and technical colleges, are obliged to ensure the growth of party influence on the lives of their collectives not only through the efforts of teachers who are party members, but also through Communist parents, party organizations at key enterprises, and workers at party raykoms and gorkoms.

It is necessary to fundamentally improve the training of teacher cadres and to select for training at teacher-training establishments the best representatives of young people who have a yen for working with children and see that as their vocation. The expanding practice of electing the leaders of educational establishments and providing job certification of teacher-training cadres increases party committees' responsibility to nominate worthy workers with the necessary political, professional, and moral qualities for teaching work.

The party's entire ideological work must actively promote the successful restructuring of secondary and higher schools and the development of continuous education as a most important component in the integral process of molding Soviet people's personalities.

8. The improvement of the people's education and culture is the paramount concern of Soviet power, its central and local bodies. The plenum stresses that soviets, with the backing of the general public, must act as the organizers of all work on providing general secondary education for young people, vocational guidance and training, and job placement; strengthening and developing the material base of educational establishments and preschool and extramural institutions; providing them with their complement of cadres; and improving teachers' working, general living, and leisure conditions.

9. The Komsomol must see restructuring education, instilling in young people a desire for knowledge and professional expertise, and shaping their communist morality and lofty civic duty of serving the homeland as a very important area of its activity. The work of Komsomol organizations must be geared to the all-around development of young people's creative instincts, a responsible attitude to the job in hand, and the satisfaction of their diverse interests and needs and must combat consumerism and parasitism.

It is necessary to update the content of Pioneer work and make it attractive to children and beneficial to their development. The public and literary and artistic figures are urged to do active work with Pioneer collectives. The standard of ideological and vocational training of Pioneer leaders is to be improved.

10. A full life for educational establishments and the successful solution of the multifaceted tasks of teaching and instructing young people are inconceivable without a committed attitude by the general public and all its organizations. The improvement of labor, general living, and leisure conditions for teachers, educators, schoolchildren and students is the paramount concern of trade unions. Their initiative on strengthening the material base of artistic work and health and sports work deserves every support. In the sphere of education and instruction, where an unbroken link between the generations of Soviet people is ensured and where many tasks connected with strengthening the moral and political unity of society are being tackled, there are great opportunities for war and labor veterans' organizations, the All-Union "Znaniye" Society, the Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies, and also the societies of rationalizers and inventors, DOSAAF, creative unions, the Soviet Culture Foundation, and others to make their mark. The Soviet V.I. Lenin Children's Foundation and women's councils should play a special part in all this multifaceted work.

11. The mass media have responsible tasks in connection with deepening the reform of public education. Television, radio and the press have to competently and authentically cover school life and the complex process of education and instruction. It is important to enhance the role of the media in revealing positive advances and

difficulties in the restructuring of education, in enhancing the prestige of the teaching profession and its difficult, honorable labor, and in eradicating conservatism and dogmatism in organizing and managing public education.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum stresses that the party and society must constantly focus attention on people's education and the matter of teaching and instructing the younger generations and expresses firm confidence that party committees, state bodies, public organizations, Soviet teachers, professors, and educators will do all they can to ensure the consistent implementation of the program guidelines of the 27th party congress and raise the public education system to a qualitatively new level.

Editorial on Plenum Decisions, June Conference

PM211724 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Ideology of Renewal: The CPSU Central Committee Plenum Decisions Call for Energetic Actions"]

[Text] A CPSU Central Committee plenum was held 17-18 February. M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, delivered a speech at the plenum entitled "Revolutionary Restructuring Requires an Ideology of Renewal." It gave a profound analysis of the new stage of the restructuring and set forth a program of ideological backup for it.

The plenum examined the question of "The Course of the Restructuring of Secondary and Higher Education and the Party's Tasks in Implementing It." The report was delivered by Ye.K. Ligachev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary.

Discussing the problem of deepening the reform of public education from broad party and state standpoints, the plenum participants noted that the plenum took place in the most crucial period of the restructuring. Everything that concerns school, education, and instruction is directly linked to the restructuring. A society making a revolutionary transition to a qualitatively new condition needs educated, active citizens who are devoted to socialism and know how to live and work in the new way. Nothing bypasses people, nothing is done without them.

The democratization of public life and radical economic reform require from the party efficient actions both for today and for the long term. The Central Committee Politburo is guided by this in drawing up the prospectus for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which is to determine much of the party's future strategic work. It is important now, as the conference approaches, to consider and discuss certain fundamental ideological aspects of the restructuring.

The restructuring is touching ever more deeply on the vital interests of millions of people and of society as a whole. Naturally, people want to understand better the nature and significance of the renewal processes and the immediate and distant goals of the transformations, and to determine their own attitude toward them. This is a complex matter—renouncing stereotypes and "comfortable" habits, combating indifference and social passivity. The changes are being received in different ways. Confusion is also in evidence in some people's minds: they ask if we are not deviating from the positions of socialism. Some people, as is well known, find the changes not at all to their liking. The party is not drawing a veil over the "tricky areas," but openly says the committed supporters of renewal, of whom there are more and more all the time, are having to operate in a complex political and ideological situation. The people's growing support is what the party sees as most important. As was stated authoritatively from the platform of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, the party has supported and will support whatever benefits socialism, and has rejected and will reject everything that is detrimental to the people's interests.

As it gains in scope and depth, the restructuring prompts us more closely to compare the path traveled and the path ahead with Lenin's behests. Not to repeat familiar truths for the sake of some kind of ritual—to seek the most reliable guidelines! That is why such great significance is now attached to the problems of ideological activity and questions of the theory of socialism and restructuring. Even before, they were not ignored by the party, and they were reflected widely in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress, in the new edition of its program, in the materials of Central Committee plenums, and in a whole series of other documents, especially those devoted to the 70th anniversary of October. Now, however, there is an urgent need to approach these issues in light of the new demands and do solid work on them. It is the party, being fully armed with scientific knowledge about the past, the present, and the trends in development, which can and must head the processes of the formation of the most up-to-date socialist consciousness in society, provide theoretical illumination on the new stage of socialist building, and ensure its success in practice.

In the restructuring, it is also very important to establish a truly Marxist-Leninist approach to our society's history. This presupposes staunch, intensive, and critical intellectual work, which takes time, talent, and responsibility. Hasty assessments are impermissible, as is the presentation to the broad public of rush jobs that obscure the truth. Unfortunately rush jobs like this are found in some of our newspapers and journals. Not being in possession of facts or scientific evidence, they engage in all kinds of conjecture.

By carefully studying the Soviet past we can learn lessons for our work in the conditions of the restructuring and renewal of society. Restructuring means taking our difficult experience into account and renouncing everything

that was and is a brake on our progress. Restructuring means the restoration and development of our unfading values—everything for man and in the name of man. The party counts on the knowledge, intelligence, and experience of everyone, on the best human qualities; it opens up the greatest possible opportunities for people's education through life and through participation in the common cause, in economic innovations, democracy, and glasnost.

A crucial means of achieving the goals of the restructuring is the further democratization of society. Only through democracy can the human factor be fully enlisted in the profound transformations of society and given a mighty boost. The party is called upon to set an example of democracy. It is necessary first of all to overcome the long-standing adherence of many party committees and their apparatus to decree methods and to taking the place of everyone else. An end should also be put to the attempts to restrict democracy and disregard public opinion. Using the most democratic methods, the party is called upon to exercise a leading, vanguard role in the new stage of the restructuring and develop the initiative and creativity of every individual and of the labor collectives.

Special responsibility rests with the mass information and propaganda media. Consolidating and developing what they have acquired in recent years, they should and must reveal the full complexity and novelty of the tasks being resolved by the party and people, exclude superficial or hasty assessments, and inform us more vividly and in greater depth about the experience of restructuring in the labor collectives, in the cities and rayons, oblasts, and republics, and centrally. A major role in developing democratization and glasnost belongs to propagandists, lecturers, and ideological workers. Restructuring is impossible without strict observance of the rule of law, discipline, and order. The plenum proposed the organization of universal legal education as an integrated, comprehensive, statewide program.

The party, advocating the resolute democratization of society, declares: Nonrecognition or underestimation of the development and expansion of democracy is nothing less than distrust in the people and in their adherence to democracy. It is necessary to boldly and vigorously build up and widen the "cultural stratum" of the restructuring, to augment the unique wealth that our multinational culture represents, and to strengthen people's sense of Soviet patriotism and internationalism.

The party regards radical economic reform as an integral part of the renewal of socialism and its endowment with modern and dynamic forms. This is the real basis for deepening democracy, for participation in management by the working people as the true masters of production and of the whole country. There are still considerable difficulties here. People's attitude to the task is changing. As the prestige of the conscientious and honest rises, there is an ever more perceptible desire to do away with leveling, which holds back a conscientious attitude to labor and to increasing productivity.

The times demand that every effort be put into implementing the large-scale economic development plans. But here we must not move a single step away from the people's day-to-day needs and requirements. It is a question of resolving priority problems—food, housing, the provision of high quality goods and services to the population. The programs outlined in this connection are unfortunately not everywhere being completely and promptly fulfilled.

It was noted at the plenum that we are now approaching the restructuring of our political system—from the viewpoint of its democratization. Here the main thing is to create a machinery of power and administration with effective, smoothrunning democratic monitoring and with guarantees of active participation by the people in the elaboration of fundamental decisions. It is a question of stepping up the role of the soviets, so that they become the true embodiment of power both centrally and locally. It is a question of improving the electoral system, of democratizing it. It is a question of the demarcation of the functions of party and state organs and the establishment in practice of Lenin's instructions on the party as the political vanguard of society.

Restructuring also means improving the party's cadre policy. The main criterion the party follows here is the attitude to restructuring. High exactingness toward party cadres was manifested in the rejection of inactivity, irresponsibility, inertia, empty verbiage, and indifference to the cause expressed by the participants in the recently completed meetings in party organizations and plenums of party committees with reports by elected organs on work in leading the restructuring. In the course of the searching discussion of the reports, Communists deemed the work of more than 4,800 party committees and party bureaus to be unsatisfactory, and replaced more than 89,000 members of elected organs.

The party is approaching its 19th All-Union Conference enriched with experience and fully determined to carry through the restructuring and the revolutionary transformations in society. The conference will analyze the key results of 3 years of life and work in the conditions of restructuring, particularly the first months of the operation of the Law on the Enterprise. It will define the achievements of our party and society since launching the processes of democratization and beginning the radical economic reform. It will adopt concrete decisions on improving our political system and on the party's role as political vanguard at the new stage of the country's development. A powerful new boost will thus be given to our revolutionary restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum unanimously approved the provisions and conclusions contained in M.S. Gorbachev's speech. It is now necessary, by means

of every type of political work, to ensure that the restructuring becomes the party cause of every communist and the patriotic duty of every citizen.

Decision Adopted on 19th All-Union Conference
LD111447 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the initiative of work collectives and leading workers in production toward meeting the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference in a worthy manner. The adopted decision notes the increased labor and political activeness of Soviet people, their desire to make their contribution to the cause of restructuring. It is stressed that in the course of socialist competition in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, millions of workers and collective farmers, over 200,000 collectives, teams, sectors, workshops, livestock farms, industrial enterprises and organisations, the agro-industrial complex, construction and transportation teams, have fulfilled their tasks for the 2 years of the 5-Year Plan ahead of schedule. However, it is pointed out that last year many collectives did not fulfil their plan tasks and contract obligations, and did not make full use of existing reserves to increase production efficiency, improve the quality of products, or satisfy the needs of the population.

As the decision states, preparations for the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference—a major political event in the life of the party and people—are a crucial stage in the competition of the working people for the successful fulfillment of the tasks of the 12th 5-Year Plan. Leading collectives and production innovators in various branches of the economy of republics, krays and oblasts have put forward the patriotic initiative to meet the party conference with new achievements in work, and have undertaken increased socialist obligations. They include the best teams of miners of Kuzbass, Donbass and Vorkuta; the oil and gas workers of Tyumen; machine-tool collectives of Leningrad, Ivanovo metal workers from Lipetsk; chemical workers of Kirov, Saratov and Cherepovets; construction workers of Gorkiy, Irkutsk and East Kazakhstan oblasts; consumer services workers of the Latvian SSR; workers of leading farms of the agro-industrial complex of Belorussia, and of the Kemerovo, Kursk, Kiev, Poltava, Tselinograd and other oblasts. Many work collectives have become actively involved in resolving the housing problem. For these purposes wide use is made of funds earned by enterprises; the personal savings of citizens are drawn into the construction of individual and cooperative houses, and local reserves and opportunities are helping increase the production of building materials.

The Party Central Committee believes that the initiative of work collectives, leading workers and production innovators, who have undertaken increased socialist obligations in order to meet the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference in a worthy manner, deserve approval and support as convincing proof of the political awareness of Soviet people, and of their concrete and creative participation in the implementation of the party's socioeconomic policy in the new stage of restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee Decision will be published in the press.

Results, Plans for Chernobyl Work Discussed
LD261221 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1135 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—A meeting has been held in the CPSU Central Committee with leaders of the mass media at which those present were familiarized with the results and plans for future work to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES and to implement measures to raise the safety of existing and planned atomic power stations in connection with the examination of these issues at a 14 January session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Vladimir Dolgikh, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

The speeches of participants in the meeting noted that the wide-scale work to eliminate the consequences of the accident, which is complex in scientific and technical terms, has been conducted under the permanent leadership of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. In effect, over one-half of a year, the power unit destroyed has been mothballed. The territory, building, structures, and equipment of the AES and the adjacent area, have been decontaminated. The measures taken have enabled a lowering of radiation levels at the power station to the established norms. The three remaining power units at the AES have been put into operation.

A large number of water conservation measures have been implemented. This has enabled water supply sources to be made completely safe from radioactive pollution.

A considerable amount of work has been carried out to decontaminate settlements. Special agro-technical undertakings have been carried out over a considerable area of agricultural land. All this has led to a substantial improvement in the radiation situation in areas which are subjected to radioactive contamination.

Large-scale measures have been implemented to protect the health of the population living in these areas. According to USSR Ministry of Health data, there are no deviations in the state of health of those under medical observation.

Much concern has been shown for the population evacuated from the danger zone. In their new abodes, all have been found jobs and provided with well-appointed housing. In less than 1 year, the first stage of the new town for Chernobyl AEA power engineering workers, Slavutich, has been built.

Additional measures to enhance safety have been implemented at all atomic power stations. Control and protection systems have been further improved, and other technical specifications of reactor installations have been improved. Operational staffs have been retrained, and production and technological discipline has been tightened up.

The measures taken to eliminate the consequences of the accident, their profound scientific justification and precise organization were highly appraised by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the World Health Organization, and leading scientists and specialists in foreign countries.

Those taking part in the meeting were briefed on the plans for the final elimination of the consequences of the accident, as well as on the program to develop [sozdaniye] a new generation of atomic stations. It was stressed that atomic power engineering both in our country and in the entire world is one of the main sources to satisfy ever increasing energy requirements.

Shcherbitskiy Receives Order of Lenin

LD200028 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today in the Kremlin presented the Order of Lenin to Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee.

Shcherbitskiy was presented with the award in recognition of his extensive services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The presentation was attended by comrades Gromyko, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Demichev, Dolgikh, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, Yazov, Baklanov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Medvedev, and Kapitonov.

Gromyko Presents Other Awards

LD200125 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Excerpts] The presentation of the Orders of Lenin: On 19 February in the Kremlin, Comrade Gromyko presented Orders of Lenin to a group of members of the CPSU Central Committee, and party and government workers. [passage omitted]

Orders of Lenin were received by the following first secretaries of CPSU Obkoms: Bakatin of Kemerovo; Balamdin of Orenburg; Kuptsov of Vologda; Sitnikov of Irkutsk; Tatarchuk of Kalinin; Tretyakov of Sakhalin; and by responsible worker of the CPSU Central Committee Lushchikov; Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Tyazhelnikov, the USSR ambassador to Romania.

Speaking to the holders of the decoration, Comrade Gromyko warmly congratulated them on receiving the highest order of our state. Those who received the award expressed heartfelt thanks to the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government for the high appraisal of their activity.

Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and other officials participated in the presentation of awards.

TV Documentary on Imprisoned Lithuanian Priest

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2006 GMT on 15 February 1988 carries a 25-minute documentary on Alfonsas Vatslavich Svarinskas, a Lithuanian Catholic priest in detention for "systematic activity directed against the socialist system and for propaganda and agitation directed against Soviet power". The documentary, produced in 1987 by the Lithuanian film studios and dubbed into Russian throughout, comprises a narrator's account of Svarinskas' activities interspersed with film showing him being interviewed while in detention.

The documentary carries the following introduction:

"Dear comrades! Today we are offering you a new documentary film, 'who are you, Father Svarinskas?!. Certain of the western mass media systematically raise the issue of persecution of the Lithuanian Catholic priest Svarinskas for religious beliefs in the Soviet Union. Who is he, in reality? Alfonsas Vatslavich Svarinskas, formerly senior priest of a church in the small town of Vidukle, in Raseiniai Rayon, has been sentenced three times for various criminal acts. In 1946 he maintained criminal relations with the Sarunas underground nationalist gang, which in 1947 alone was responsible for the brutal murders of 21 residents of the republic and burned down many farmsteads. In 1947, Svarinskas served his deserved punishment for the above crime. Once he had served it, Svarinskas did not give up anti-state activities, for which he was twice more made criminally liable. Svarinskas is currently serving a sentence. Our correspondent met him at his place of detention."

The film shows Svarinskas in an interview room listening as various people who have known him offer their impressions. One man says that Svarinskas arranged prompt help for a person whose house had burned down. The chairman of the village soviet says that Svarinskas exploited the inevitable delays of the state services to

"stir up conflict situations". The narrator describes how Svarinskas every year on 1 November unlawfully organized a procession to the local cemetery to celebrate all Souls' Day.

Next, describing Svarinskas as a supporter of the "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church," the narrator shows an extract from the chronicle which requests Rome not to appoint a number of bishops and priests who "curry favor with the atheists". Svarinskas comments on this, saying: "You don't understand. Rather than discredit them, we try to talk to priests and bishops, so that those who are not able to fight for the truth just don't get involved in politics". He goes on to say: "If a priest is proud of having worked in one parish for 25 years, and the atheists haven't driven him out in that time, then he's a bad priest. A good priest would have been driven out long before. If they don't drive him out then he's convenient to the atheists; that's nothing to be proud of."

Showing what appears to be part of the chronicle, the narrator quotes it as saying: "Broadcasting of information into Lithuania about the Lithuanian resistance is destroying communism from within. Thus we are striking at the most vulnerable spot in the Soviet empire." As Svarinskas is shown walking away from the interview room a voice-over by him says: "You are currently in power and you are worried about the nation. You usually say people but we say nation. When we are in power we will bear that consideration in mind".

Baltic Historians Denounce Western 'Propaganda'

LD201827 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] Riga February 20 TASS—Eminent historians of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia described in a TASS interview the massive propaganda attack by foreign radio voices as a logical continuation of the counterrevolution and intervention aimed against the three Soviet Baltic republics in 1917-1919. In stirring up nationalist sentiments, some statesmen and radio centres in the West make attempts to drive a wedge between the Soviet peoples.

Specifically, they try to convince the world public opinion that the credit for the formation of the Baltic republics' statehood goes to the bourgeois regimes which were established in Lithuania and Estonia on February 16 and 24 and in Latvia—on November 18, 1918. Academician Alexander Drizul from Latvia and Karl Sijlivask, Dr of Sc. (History) from Estonia drew attention to the fact that this claim is disproved in chronological terms. For instance, Soviet government was established in Latvia and Estonia already in 1917. But the matter is not even in the chronology but in methods of establishing power.

Alexander Drizul recalled that back prior to the October Revolution the leading role in local elected institutions in the areas of Latvia, which were not occupied by Germans, belonged to Bolsheviks to whose side national troop formations also switched. In Estonia too, the events developed in the similar way, Karl Sijlivask noted. Two days before the October Revolution in Petrograd, railway stations, communication offices and the telegraph were already in the hands of the military-revolutionary committee of Estland in Tallinn. And on October 27, 1917, Viktor Kingisepp, a leader of the Estonian communists, took over the duties from the governor commissar of the former provisional government of Russia. The socialist revolution triumphed in Estonia without casualties and bloodshed.

"Given all the similarity of the way to socialism in the Baltic republics, each of them also has its own specific features. The true date of my homeland's renaissance is December 16, 1918, when Soviet power was proclaimed in Lithuania as a result of the free expression of the people's will", said Bronjus Vajtkjavicus, a corresponding member of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

"The Bourgeois Tariba (Council), that flashed by on the horizon of history prior to this, was formed with the sanction of the occupation troops and even in the U.S. historical science is called the puppet government. The bourgeois rule, that was eventually established, was stained by bloody terror. There are common graves of its victims throughout Latvia", says Bronjus Vajtkjavicus.

Mikolas Slezevicus, prime minister of the bourgeois government, admitted that "shootings without charge or trial were widely practised", and Minister Steponas Kairis stated that "beatings of people became commonplace. In Rokiskis village Bolsheviks did not kill a single person. The advent of our army was accompanied with floods of blood". More than 5,000 patriots were arrested in Estonia, many of whom were shot dead. Thousands of people perished in Latvia too.

The defeat to Soviet power was inflicted at that time by the united forces of imperialism: under the Compiegne Treaty, German troops, which lost the world war, were left in the Baltic region for the express purpose of fighting Bolshevism. Academician Alexander Drizul said that a united front of struggle against Bolshevism was formed and the so-called Iron Division, which basically involved German volunteer soldiers who were promised land plots in Latvia, was its strike force.

Alexander Drizul said that the common character in the historical destinies of the Baltic republics should be sought, first and foremost, in their proletariat's aspiration for a close alliance with the proletariat of Russia and eventually—with the peoples of the USSR.

"Our society is to tackle quite a few complex problems, whose scope can be compared with a revolutionary transformation. In this situation, the forces which are

hostile to socialism make attempts to take a revenge and make use ever more actively of the 'Baltic card' for their selfish ends, interpret in their own way the historical path of the peoples of the Soviet Baltic region, who came to the socialist choice through the sufferings of tens of years of unflinching struggle", said Alexander Drizul.

Estonian Writer on Western Independence Claims

PM211930 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by writer Ants Saar: "What Do These 'Well-Wishers' Want?"]

[Text] Tallinn—I am sure it is difficult to imagine this situation, but let us try. You are living your life, with your joys and sorrows, when one day, in the street, you meet an unknown well-wisher who begins to express sympathy: You are not suitably dressed; you do not live "the right way".... What would a normal person do in your place? He would become indignant at the tactlessness of this impudent individual and keep walking.

So can you please tell me how to react to the pestering of foreign "well-wishers" who "teach" whole peoples "how to live"? First Soviet Latvia was the talk of the radio stations and their high-ranking consultants, then over there in the West they started shedding bitter tears over Lithuania's fate; now it is our Estonia's turn. In their view, the "heartfelt sufferings" should reach their peak on 24 February. What is the significance of that date?

...It was 1918. Poorly armed detachments of Red Guards had just retreated from Tallinn under the onslaught of considerably superior German forces. It was clear to everyone that the next day the interventionists would occupy the city. That was when a notice appeared, hastily pinned to fences and advertising hoardings—the "Estonian Independence Manifesto." The authors of this "insurance policy" were representatives of the bourgeoisie, prepared to reconcile themselves to occupation—anything but the Bolsheviks.

The "independence" proclaimed on 24 February was ended a few hours later by the German command. A cruel occupation regime prevailed in Estonia. Some 5,000 patriots were flung into Tallinn's jails and concentration camps.

That is the "independence" the Western radio stations are now trumpeting.

It is widely known that for 3 and 1/2 months prior to 24 February 1918—in Tallinn and over by far the greater part of Estonia's territory—all power was in the hands of the Soviets and an independent Socialist Estonian Republic could have been proclaimed at any time. But the Estonian Bolsheviks believed it was not in the nation's interests, that creating small states would separate the people and split the international front....

The bourgeois "champions of national self-determination" took advantage of this fact at the first opportunity.

They were concerned not about national interests at all, but about their own class interests. Great October gave them a terrible fright: The foundations of their prosperity were shattered and the force that protected their interests—the tsarist autocracy—collapsed. But did they not always have a "support" in the bayonets of the interventionists? Estonia's bourgeoisie resorted to their aid, drowning the workers and peasants in blood.

The people did not give up without a struggle their right to determine their own destiny: Their resistance to the diktat of the powers that would never be stopped until 1940, when Soviet power prevailed and Estonia voluntarily entered the USSR as a republic with full rights.

To the direct, specific question: What has Soviet power given you, I and—I am sure—many honest Estonians will reply: Everything!

Of course, it is hard for today's young generation even to imagine that in the twenties and thirties people had to pay for education at the gymnasium. Only those who secured a humiliating certificate of poverty were released from this. During those years our little family was living in Vilyandi. I never even dreamed of higher education.

How can people forget that in the time of Soviet power, in the conditions of the unity of our whole union, production of industrial output in Estonia has increased 55-fold, with a 270-fold increase in machine building and a 240-fold increase in the fish industry, while electricity generation has increased 214-fold! The republic's industry now produces in 7 days the same volume of output as in the whole of the year 1940.

But in speaking of the achievements and gains of Soviet power in the production, social, cultural, scientific, and other spheres, let us not disregard the specific hiccups in economic, social, and daily life on which the demagogues and so-called "defenders of rights" play. We do not always know how to give them a fitting reply. Let me cite an instructive example. When, on 23 August last year, a certain Madisson, who already had an exit visa from the USSR in his pocket, organized a gathering of nationalist elements, several dozen people crowded around them. No, they did not support the extremists. But among those who gathered, there was just one worthy opponent, who logically and convincingly refuted the "accusations" of the frenzied nationalists. The others were simply confused. What does this mean? Are we unable to stand up for our home, for its honor? Alas, the trouble is that we are no longer used to arguing convincingly, we have lost the habit of defending the correctness of our views in a well argued and dignified way. For a long time we merely showed off certain achievements, hiding our patent shortcomings, and thus we gave our opponents the opportunity to engage in all kinds of speculations....

Life has led us to the inevitable conclusion: Today restructuring is necessary not only in the economic and social sphere, but also in ideological work—as the CPSU Central Committee plenum which has just ended also convincingly showed. This is promoted by the broad democratization which has begun, the normalization of sociopolitical life, and the development of glasnost and the citizens' social activeness. But at the same time antisocial phenomena have become very energetic and brazen—gatherings of nationalist elements and hooligans, beginning with demands to "decipher the blanks in history" and ending with the revision of our republic's history from bourgeois standpoints. To push through the ideas of separatism, discredit socialism, and blacken the Soviet peoples' friendship—that is their aim.

Estonia is in the "front line" of the propaganda war constantly kindled by the imperialists. Malicious lies and incitement to provocations constantly rain down on us through various channels. Clearly we cannot merely "defend ourselves." What is needed is broad, intelligent, politically mature propaganda of our gains and of the Soviet way of life; what is needed is an intelligent rebuff for those who don the garb of champions of human rights; what is needed is an exposure of the true motives for their actions.

The favorite hobbyhorse of extremists of every hue is national relations. We realize these questions are complex. That is partly because of the slackening of international work, which has taken place more in words than in deeds. The situation must be rectified. This, in my view, means first and foremost helping people to rid themselves of national narrow-mindedness, mastering the art of conducting honest polemics, and cultivating political maturity. An additional thing is important: to avoid exacerbating conflict situations, which still happens not infrequently.

The republic has taken effective measures, albeit very late in the day. The program of international and patriotic education of the population, especially young people, has been extended.... On the initiative of party organs, special groups have been set up to examine "sensitive areas" in economic, social, and cultural life. For the first time, measures are being taken to forecast the ideological situation.

For a long time, for instance, we had a very simplistic approach to questions of bilingualism. It was proposed, for instance, to set up mixed kindergartens and extend school programs in Russian and Estonian. That was all. There was no comprehensively thought out, scientifically substantiated approach. The situation is now changing. Measures are being adopted to ensure that young people living in the republic, as well as all those employed in medicine, the militia, transportation, communications, and other spheres directly involving services to people, know both languages. But even that is, I think, not enough. It would be a good thing if captains of production also knew both Estonian and Russian. Though let us observe that conflicts do not arise among working people on these grounds—they simply live, work, and mix together. It is quite obvious, however, that international contacts through all possible channels must be considerably widened and deepened.

The nationalities question is among the most delicate. It must be admitted that it has hitherto clearly not been sufficiently reckoned with, and certain "sensitive" socioeconomic factors have not been taken into account. We were not worried, for instance, about situations where many indigenous inhabitants of the republic (and of course, not only Estonians) worked worthily all their lives and dreamed for decades of apartments with modern conveniences. Yet often such apartments were given "straight off," before their very eyes, to newcomers—"much needed specialists." How could that (especially in an atmosphere of insufficient glasnost and lack of information) fail to exacerbate the contradictions?

What lessons can be learned from recent events? The main conclusion is that it is not through individual, isolated measures, but through a restructuring of our whole life that we must improve the level of relations between nations and make international and patriotic education more effective. This is a complex and long-term process, and we must not be hasty—very thoughtful and consistent ideological work is needed, not an ideological rush job. For Estonians, there is no alternative to cohesion within the fraternal alliance of Soviet peoples. It is the high standard of relations between nations that will largely determine the activation of the human factor and the success of our common cause—restructuring.

Thousands Protest Chemical Plant in Yerevan

AU191743 Paris AFP in English 1725 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, Feb 19 (AFP)—About 2,000 people demonstrated in the Soviet Armenian capital of Yerevan on Friday against the construction of a chemical plant, dissident sources said.

Most of the protesters came from Abovyan, 15 kilometres (nine miles) north of Yerevan, where the plant is to be built.

Some 5,000 protesters staged a four-and-a-half hour demonstration against the plant in Abovyan on Thursday. There were no incidents, Alexander Ogorodnikov, editor of a Christian newspaper, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Mr Ogorodnikov said engineering students from Yerevan joined the demonstration Thursday, which prompted local authorities to ask the protesters to halt their action until the building of the plant was reconsidered.

Pickets prevented construction workers from entering the site on Friday, but police made no attempt to stop the demonstrators, the sources said. [passage omitted]

Work of Kirghiz Party Plenum Reported

LD301624 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] The report of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on the work regarding the handling of restructuring was discussed at a Kirghizian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum today. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya Central Committee and other speakers focused their main attention upon unresolved tasks. The problems of housing, kindergartens, health care and culture facilities are still acute. The Communists openly voiced their proposals and observations. Thus, in their view the practice of holding plemums of party committees, including of the Central Committee, requires real improvement. It is necessary to hold regular working sessions of the Central Committee Bureau in order to carry out preliminary examination of cadre questions, a free exchange of views on the most topical problems, and to hold itinerant sessions.

Important omissions in the internationalist education of working people were subjected to criticism. The weakening of party influence on the work of legal organs weas pointed out. The pelnum adopted a decision which envisages a program for the implementation of the tasks set by the party.

No Evidence of Sabotage in Gagarin's Death

LD181100 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—An inadmissible situation arose in the air space during the training flight of Yuriy Gagarin and Vladimir Seryogin, which was tragically interrupted 20 years ago, Professor Sergey Belotserkovskiy writes in PRAVDA today after completing a new investigation into the causes of the catastrophe.

A minute after Gagarin and Seryogin took off in Mig-15 (call sign 625) at 10 hours 20 minutes, a pair of faster jets, Mig-21, also became airborne. As they were breaking cloud during altitude gain, the jets overtook the Mig-15. This violation could even lead to a mid-air clash, but it did not happen.

They were followed by another aircraft Mig-15 (call sign 614) a minute later. An analysis of the trajectory of the flight of the two Mig-15 aircraft with call signs 625 and 614 showed that they were in dangerous proximity to each other. The distance between them could be some 500 metres, but no clash took place. The pilot of the aircraft 614 did not notice Gagarin's plane as it transpires from radio communication between 614 and the flight control officer. One can conclude that 625 got on the tail of 614 and was following it.

Finding itself in the trailing vortex of the aircraft in front, the plane piloted by Gagarin and Seryogin got into a spin. The crew took immediate measures to take the plane out of the spin when it was still between clouds and had no spatial orientation. The reconstruction of events that took place in this period of time showed that they could make 5-6 turns of the spin.

The crew's actions aimed at regaining the level flight were correct in the highest degree, the professor stresses. They did everything possible to save themselves, but were short of 2 seconds or 250-300 meters of altitude. The aircraft, its power unit and avionics were in order and, despite extreme conditions, remained operational to the end. There is nothing to support the conjectures that it was an act of sabotage (explosion or poisoning), the result of a fire or the crew losing its consciousness. The pilots retained their capacity for work to the end of the flight, skilfully and efficiently piloting the aircraft.

Economic

Restructuring Finds Most Progress in Ideology

AU191821 Moscow PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in Russian No 1, Jan 88 (Signed to press 8 Dec 87) pp 59-64

[Article by Abel Aganbegyan, academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Up the Steps of Acceleration"—boldface as published]

[Text] More than 2 and 1/2 years have passed since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, which announced a new strategy—the **acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development**. This concept is multifaceted. Its goal is not only to break the prevailing trend of development in the USSR and to shift from the national economy's period of stagnation in the late seventies and early eighties to a stable 4-5 percent average annual growth rate of the economic potential. Another aspect is more important—to ensure a new quality of growth and to fundamentally change its substance, sources, and orientation. It is necessary to renew our economy through acceleration, to sharply raise it to a level that would ensure the fullest manifestation of the advantages of socialism. This concerns bringing the national economy to the foremost frontiers and making the productivity of social labor, product quality, and Soviet people's well-being the highest in the world. **More socialism!**—this is the slogan put forward by M.S. Gorbachev.

Fundamental changes in the USSR are being carried out in the course of restructuring—a revolutionary form of transforming society. As a new political term, it challenges such concepts as "refinement," which was typical of another, evolutionary kind of development. The immediate task of restructuring is to demolish the brake mechanism of our growth that emerged in the past and to replace it with the mechanism of acceleration.

"We can now speak about an entry into a new stage of restructuring, in which all our policies, all our decisions are to be transformed into concrete deeds...," M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, noted in his report to the solemn meeting in honor of the 70th anniversary of October. "Now life itself will test our ideas, plans, approaches, and methods of work." (Footnote 1) (PRAVDA, 3 Nov 1987)

We have made the most progress, in my opinion, in the ideological sphere: It is easier to breathe. Things are more difficult concerning the economy. Three main channels for our efforts have taken shape here: first of all, a changeover to the priority accomplishment of social tasks; second, the national economy's shift to the track of intensification and the acceleration of scientific-technological progress; and third, the implementation of the radical reform of the system of economic management and administration. Let us briefly examine the plans and activities, the first successes and failures in each of these areas.

Priority of the Social Sphere [subhead]

First of all, it is important to bridge the unwarranted gap between, on the one hand, the country's industrial might, development science and culture, and the level of education of the Soviet people, and, on the other, the level of satisfaction of their material and social needs.

This gap is largely associated with our difficult history: It was necessary to economize on each ruble, redistributing resources for industrialization, defense, and then for the needs of the war against fascism and the restoration of the national economy. But later on, too, in the mid-fifties and sixties, despite a number of attempts, it was not possible to completely bridge this gap. In the last 15 years, when negative trends were manifest, the rate of development fell, and production efficiency decreased, the lag of the social sphere intensified. Resources for the social sphere were allocated according to the so-called residual principle: Capital investments and other resources were primarily used for the needs of production, and only what was left was used to improve the population's standard of living.

As a result, for instance, the proportion of expenditures on housing construction decreased from 23 percent in 1960 to 14-15 percent in the last 5 years. Expenditures for education in the same period decreased from 10 (at one time this indicator in the USSR was the world's highest) to 7 percent. Public health services, which received less than 4 percent of the country's national income, were neglected. The food complex and the provision of consumer goods to the population acutely lagged behind. The services sphere remained undeveloped.

Attention to the individual and concern for his welfare have now become a fundamental task of restructuring. First of all, it was necessary to change priorities, to put to the fore the problem of improving the standard of living, to impart an accelerated quality to this work, and to subordinate the growth of all sectors to social goals.

The trends, which came to light in the past, the forces of inertia are being overcome, though with difficulty. The first successes are on hand.

I will begin with the most acute question for our country—**housing.** Over a 20-year period the volume of housing construction has virtually remained static. In the last 2 years, however, we have achieved a definite turning point. If, in the past, 105-110 million square meters were commissioned, this amount was 113 million in 1985, and more than 118 million in 1986. In the 9 months of 1987, the state built 14 percent more housing than for the corresponding period the year before. This provided an opportunity to review plans. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently set new targets for the 12th 5-year plan—to deliver 630 million square meters of housing (the 27th congress projected 560-565 million). Altogether, it planned to build 40 million apartments and houses before the year 2000. As calculations show, this is enough to provide each **family with individual living quarters** (at present only 83 percent of families are provided for in this way). The overwhelming proportion of housing will be built by the state, and provided to the working people on favorable terms. A Soviet family currently spends only 2.7 percent of its outlays on housing and municipal services. We intend to continue to be the country with the lowest payment for housing in the world.

Another critical problem is **improvement of nutrition.** In the 11th 5-Year Plan we did not manage to make serious progress in this regard, insofar as agricultural production grew by only 6 percent while the population increased by 4 percent. It was necessary to make large purchases of grain and meat from abroad. It is planned to raise the rate of development of agriculture by a factor of 2.5 and to bring it to 14.4 percent.

A number of major measures are being carried out for these purposes. We have switched to a new scientific-technological and investment policy that relies on intensive technologies. The entire system of management of the agro-industrial complex has been transformed, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have acquired a great deal of autonomy in utilizing the results of economic management, and the collective and family contact have become widespread. These measures are having a positive effect.

In 1986 agricultural production increased by 5.1 percent and the production of the following grew as compared with the average annual indicators of the last 5-year plan: grain, from 180 to 210 million tonnes; meat, from 16.2 to 17.7 million tonnes; and milk, from 94.6 to 101.1 million tonnes. In the 9 months of 1987 6 percent more meat and 2 percent more milk was produced than in the same period of the previous year. Agricultural production increased by about 10 percent in 1986-87. It has

become possible to considerably decrease the import of foodstuffs and to appreciably increase the sale of meat and dairy products and fruit and vegetables to the population.

We understand that only the first steps have been taken and there is a long way to go toward fully satisfying the population's requirements. Moreover, it is necessary to bear in mind that the task of satisfying the effective demand for meat and dairy products is also associated with overcoming the unnecessarily low **retail prices** of state trade, which have not been reviewed for a quarter of a century in this sphere. The amount of subsidies here has reached R57 billion per year. It was stressed at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum that the reform of retail prices will be carried out in the most democratic way, after discussion with the people, and in such a way that the population's living standard does not decrease, and even increases for certain groups. This is how matters stand: If a decision is made to increase prices for meat and milk, this will be accompanied by full compensation for increased outlays by the population in the form of direct supplementary payments.

Another quite important social problem in the USSR is the infusion of the market with **consumer goods.** It is planned to increase the production rate of these products by a factor of 1.5 in the current 5-year plan as compared with the 11th 5-Year Plan, and most important, to decisively improve quality and variety. A new economic mechanism has recently been introduced in light industry and trade. The plans of enterprises producing items for the mass consumer are now formed according to trade orders [zakazy torgovli], while the situation of trade organizations themselves is dependent on satisfying demand. Major steps are being taken for the technical modernization of domestic light industry. Foreign enterprises and firms, primarily from the socialist countries, are being more actively involved in the Soviet market.

Our attitude toward the **service sphere** has changed sharply. If the volume of paid services grew by only one-fourth in the 11th 5-Year Plan, the goal in the current 5-year plan is to increase it by one-half. The plan projections for the last 2 years are being overfulfilled.

The development of **cooperatives and individual labor activity** will be a serious help in these areas. Not much time has passed since the normative documents permitting and encouraging it were passed, but already 8,000 cooperatives have been organized (as of 1 Oct 1987). There are 200,000 people engaged in individual labor. For the time being the impact of this new—for us—sector is small, but, as the experience of other socialist countries shows, much can be expected of it in the long term.

One of the most vital problems is **enhancement of the Soviet people's health.** In the last 1 and 1/2 decades the situation here has not improved, and has even deteriorated in some respects. That is why much energy and resources have been rapidly channeled into accomplishing this task. In 1986, for the first time in 20 years, the average longevity in the USSR increased by 1 year, and mortality per 1,000 people, including infant mortality, decreased. One-third fewer working age people died from accidents, poisoning, and injuries. Along with the increased attention to public health, the struggle against drunkenness, which made it possible to halve the sale of alcoholic beverages, made an impact. But there is still much to be done. A draft program to improve the health of the population and to restructure public health has been developed and published for nationwide discussion.

These and other important steps to improve the people's well-being are closely linked with the firm establishment in our life of the **principle of social justice.** Now the size of labor remuneration, of material incentives, and of the social development fund depend on the results of a labor collective's activities. Under conditions of self-management and democratization, it is the workers themselves that decide on how the earned resources should be used.

At the same time the rights of territorial local organs have been extended, their budget has been increased, and they have given the right to additionally use part of the resources allocated for industrial construction for building housing and sociocultural facilities. The foremost collectives and many rayons and oblasts are widely using these newly acquired opportunities. The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum required that the urgent needs of the population be more rapidly satisfied and that each Soviet family feel changes for the better within the next 2-3 years.

Intensive Development Is the Goal [subhead]

The distinctive feature of the times is that we must accomplish the task of acceleration while cutting down on the growth of resources. Thus, replenishment of the work force is decreasing by a factor of 3-4 because the impact of the demographic consequences of the war are particularly palpable. The deterioration of mining and geological and economic conditions has produced a fall by a factor of three in the growth of the extraction of fuel and raw materials. Because of the previous decrease in the rate of development and a reduction in the share of savings in the national economy, the dynamics of production capital investments has slowed down by a factor of 3, as has, subsequently, the growth rate of fixed production capital. All this means that in the long term we must increase the efficiency of social production both to compensate for the reduction in the growth of resources and to ensure acceleration of the country's socioeconomic progress. Let us compare past figures and calculations for the future.

Growth of Indicators (in factors)

	1971-1985 actual	1986-2000 projected
National income	1.8	2.0
Production resources		
Fixed production capital	3.0	2.0
Extraction of fuel and raw materials	1.5	1.2
Number of workers in production sectors	1.15	0.9
Efficiency of Social Production		
Capital-output ratio	0.6	1.0
Efficiency of use of fuel and raw materials	1.2	1.65
Productivity of social labor	1.6	2.3-2.5

As one can see from this comparison, it is necessary to at least double the rate of labor productivity, double the efficiency of use of fuel and energy, and to stabilize capital-output ratio, which steadily increased in the previous period.

This fundamental change in the factors of economic growth requires deep structural advances, and the main lever of intensification is **scientific-technological progress.** It is necessary to achieve truly revolutionary changes and to switch to a new generation of equipment and fundamentally different technological processes. The scientific-technological groundwork for this switch basically exists. After all, we possess a powerful scientific potential and allocate about 5 percent of the national income to financing science—more than the overwhelming proportion of other developed countries of the world. Why is it then that scientific-technological progress in our country has been carried out so slowly and we have seriously fallen behind those that have gone furthest ahead in this area?

The reason lies in the unsatisfactory materialization of the achievements of science and technology and the inadequate utilization of developments to set up the production of advanced products. The main hindrance is the lag of many sectors of our machine building and an incorrect investment policy, which has thrown the overwhelming proportion of resources into new construction, while the product mix and active fixed capital were virtually not updated and became outdated.

According to the assessment of specialists, 71 percent of machinery and equipment produced in 1985 did not meet current requirements and had to be withdrawn from production. Indeed, what talk can there be about meeting requirements, when, for instance, in the same 1985 only 3.1 percent of machine-building output was updated. It is no accident that the party put forward the task of bringing this indicator up to 9.3 percent as early as 1988, and to 13 percent by 1990. Thus, within 5 years it is necessary to withdraw almost half of the machine-building products from production and to set up production of products that incorporate the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution. This new equipment must ensure a minimum 50-100 percent growth of productivity while reducing metal intensiveness by 12-18 percent.

So as to implement this major structural advancement in machine building, it is necessary to update its technical base. In past years the active fixed production capital in this sector was modernized at existing plants an average of only 1.8 percent per year. Now we want to raise this coefficient to 9-10 percent, and for this purpose we are strengthening machine building and instrument making and doubling the capitalist investments in this sector. In the current 5-year plan the production of equipment by other Soviet machine-building ministries must increase fourfold; purchases of it abroad, primarily by socialist countries, are expanding. It is planned to use new equipment on two, and the most expensive and modern equipment on even three, shifts.

All this could be achieved during the fundamental renewal of machine building, and a firm course toward this has been taken. As early as 1986, capital investments for the modernization and retooling of machine-building enterprises were increased by 30 percent; that is, about the same amount as for the entire previous 5-year plan. Attention to this key sector has also required a serious general redistribution of resources. If capital investments in machine building increased only by 24 percent in the 11th 5-Year Plan, and a 80 percent increase in them is planned for the 12th. This target has been overfulfilled in the last 2 years.

The strategic intention is to more rapidly restructure machine building, to begin the mass production of new equipment, and, on this basis, to carry out the **modernization of the remaining sectors.** It is planned to double the norm of replacement of active fixed production capital in the national economy in the 12th 5-Year Plan.

Admittedly, for the time being we have not achieved a major qualitative advance in the intensification of the economy, but have obtained the first positive results. In 1979-84 the country's industrial production increased by 3-4 percent annually, including 2-3.5 percent via labor productivity. In 1985 (after the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum) and in 1986 the industrial growth rate rose to 5 percent, and productivity to 4.5 percent. The dynamics of the latter indicator has also substantially quickened in all other sectors. In agriculture (the public sector) productivity increased by 6.9 percent in 1986 as opposed to 1.5 percent in the previous 5 years; the situation in construction was, respectively, 4.3 and 2.6 percent; and in railway transportation, 7.6 and 1.6 percent. Beginning with 1987, practically the **entire growth** of social production was for the first time in our history provided by the increase in labor productivity.

The dynamics of capital-output ratio has also improved considerably. With the lesser growth of fixed capital, it was possible to ensure a higher rate of increase of the national income. Prime cost in industry was cut three times as fast as the annual average for the 11th 5-Year Plan and cut twice as fast in construction.

But the positive progress has largely been achieved through temporary factors—strengthening of discipline, the establishment of order, the increase in responsibility—and does not rely for the time being on the new economic mechanism and the acceleration of scientific-technological progress, and therefore is not stable.

The **improvement of product quality** still has enormous reserves of efficiency. The full satisfaction of social requirements depends on it. Therefore, foremost attention is now being paid to this question. From last year, the state began to coercively lower prices on products that did not meet the highest standard of quality. Conversely, markups are being introduced for the production of competitive goods. Pressure to improve quality must come mainly from the consumer. We are moving toward this within the framework of the radical reform of the system of economic management and administration.

Although the main measures of this reform will be carried out in 1988-90, low product quality cannot be tolerated for a single day. We have made a complex decision that has created many arguments: The **state acceptance of products service** has been introduced at 1,500 enterprises; that is, control on the part of an autonomous state inspectorate. This has produced shock at a number of factories and plants. Collectives producing poor quality products proved to be in a difficult position—they stopped receiving bonuses and wages decreased. But most workers, engineers, and technicians understood the necessity of such severe measures in the interest of the whole of society. They ultimately overcame shortcomings through strenuous work.

Modernization and retooling are gaining momentum, and the national economy, though more slowly than one would like, is shifting onto the track of intensive development.

Methods of Economic Management and Administration [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum approved the Basic Guidelines for the Radical Restructuring of Economic Management, and recommended that the Supreme Soviet adopt the Law on the State Enterprise, which was refined taking into account the results of a 5-month nationwide discussion. A package of draft resolutions on restructuring the activities of sectorial, territorial, and central management organs was also approved for the most part. Soon after the plenum a session of the Supreme Soviet adopted the Law on the State Enterprise, while the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers approved a resolution on restructuring planning, price formation, finances, and other things. (Footnote 2) (See "On the Radical Restructuring of Economic Management. Collection of Documents," Moscow, 1987—editor's note) A clear-cut schedule for the shift to new conditions of economic management has been determined. Since 1988, enterprises producing about 60 percent of industrial output have begun to work under conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, and from 1 January 1989 this situation will extend to the rest.

New banks have been established—for instance, an industrial-construction, agro-industrial, and housing-municipal bank; they must be more closely tied to national economic sectors. A fundamental reform of prices is planned for 1989-90. A shift to financing on a normative basis is concurrently under way. We are switching from centralized material-technical supply to the wholesale trade of the means of production. About 60 percent of all types of these products will be sold by 1990, while it is planned to bring the proportion of sales to 80-90 percent by 1992.

In short, **large-scale progress** is taking place: **from words about improving the management system and experiments to real measures to put the new economic mechanism into operation.**

The current stage is distinctive and complex. The shift by associations and enterprises to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing will be carried out under the old system of prices and the predominance of centralized material-technical supply. The existing 5-year plan, which was drawn up in 1985-86 according to the old management layout, has an impact on the work of enterprises.

Nonetheless, labor collectives are already now gaining a broad opportunity for autonomous decisionmaking. Enterprises and associations will be able to freely sell an ever-increasing proportion of their output. A considerable share of profits (up to 56 percent of their total in machine building) will remain at the disposal of the producers and be used by them for incentives—to form the production and the science and technology development fund (besides a portion of profits, amortization deductions will go here); the social development fund, which, in particular, could finance the building of housing and social and consumer facilities and the maintenance of pioneers camps and kindergartens; and finally, the material incentives fund.

The essence of the new management system is the shift to management primarily by economic methods—with the help of normatives set for enterprises and associations for 5 years in advance, with the use of prices, finance-and-credit conditions, and incentives. The role of commodity-money relations is sharply growing. A market for the means of production will appear. A partial decentralization in price-setting will be carried out. But our market

will remain a socialist market, regulated by the plan. Natural resources, enterprises, or manpower will not be for sale in the USSR, and there will not be a capital market or exchanges. Economic management is leadership via the interests of enterprises and labor collectives. Normatives, prices, and other levers and incentives are designed to channel these interests toward the aspirations of the whole of society and to link one with the other.

Economic methods must replace administrative methods based on specifically directed and directive targets, the centralized distribution of the means of production, and a detailed regulation of the activities of enterprises, which have prevailed for almost 60 years.

Twice in the past—in the mid-fifties and in the mid-sixties—there were attempts to restrict administrative methods of management and to give scope to economic regulation. Both times serious positive results were temporarily achieved. But then everything returned to its former state, the rate fell, indicators again worsened. When stagnation occurred in the economy at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th 5-Year Plans and a precrisis situation arose, this was the result of an exacerbated conflict between the achieved level of productive forces, the inevitable requirements of society, and the outdated and ossified system of administrative management.

The former methods of management became the basic core of the evolved brake mechanism. One cannot switch to acceleration without putting an end to them. **Fundamental restructuring and radical reform of management—this is not simply the desire of individual leaders or social groups, but an objective requirement of the forward development of society.**

One frequently encounters a question that is generally legitimate: Does not the same fate that befell the previous reforms await this, the third attempt to shift to economic methods? What is the guarantee that restructuring in management will be completed?

Of course, only time and real results will provide a final, a historic, I would say, answer. Today, though, one can demonstratively expound on this topic by relying on the first results of restructuring and by taking account of its program.

First of all, we are trying to learn lessons from the past. At that time the introduction of economic methods affected only individual spheres of the economy and did not encompass it completely. It was as if there was an attempt to implant an alien economic tissue in an integrated administrative system of management. The inevitable ultimately happened: the organism rejected the foreign body and there was a recurrence of command and administrative systems. A similar mistake is now ruled out.

Unlike past experience, the current radical reform of management is **comprehensive and universal**, and encompasses all components and spheres of the economy and is not restricted to it. Renewal is being carried out under conditions of restructuring of economic policy as a whole, of the entire society.

Reorganization of the economic mechanism in industry and agriculture in the sixties was not accompanied by changes in the the superstructure. Party and soviet organs largely did not play a direct part. Now, though, the Central Committee, the entire party, and Soviet power as a whole link their fate with fundamental restructuring and they are its initiators.

A very important lesson also lies in involving the working masses in restructuring. The economic reforms of the fifties and sixties were undertaken from above and did not envisage a simultaneous switch to self-management and democratization. The administrative essence in the economic mechanism at the time remained the dominant one. Things are different now. A more decisive shift to economic methods is under way, and they are becoming dominant. This is reinforced not only by measures taken from above, but by the switch to self-management and by the increase in the role of labor collectives.

Decisions have been made in our country that are unprecedented in terms of past yardsticks: decisions on the approval of an enterprise's plan by its own collective as the final authority; on the right of a labor collective to determine the ways that incentive funds are used; the election by a collective of its leaders up the line—from the brigade leader or a section chief to the director of an enterprise or the general director of an association.

The main thing is that transformations in economic life are being carried out as part of an all-encompassing, a deeper process of the **democratic renewal of society**. It is precisely democratization and self-management that are the main condition of the irreversibility of acceleration and its motive force.

Our restructuring is still at the beginning of its path. It is expanding and deepening. The April (1985) plenum put forward the concept of the basic guidelines of restructuring. The conference in the CPSU Central Committee in June of the same year spelled out and developed the idea of a modern scientific-technological, investment, and structural policy. The 27th party congress continued the elaboration of the specific tasks of acceleration. The new edition of the CPSU Program defined the strategy for the immediate period. The Basic Guidelines of the USSR's Economic and Social Development, where the ideas of restructuring were reflected in targets for the 12th 5-Year Plan and for the long term through the year 2000, were approved. The congress validated the shift to a strong social policy. The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, where the task of democratizing our society was set in all its magnitude and where the bases

of cadre policy in the current conditions were defined, occupy a prominent place. Then the June (1987) plenum approved the program of carrying out a radical reform of management.

Two subsequent steps along the path of renewal have also been predetermined. It has been announced that one of the next CPSU Central Committee plenums will be devoted to the concept of the 13th 5-Year Plan. It will be a significant stage, which we will begin with a new system of economic operations and management and with the renewal of machine building. This will be a 5-year plan of accelerated rate of scientific-technological progress, major social advances, and, I think, it will bear visible fruit.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference to be convened at the end of June this year. Its agenda is: the results of the work to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, restructuring, and upcoming tasks; on the further democratization of the life of the party and society. There is no doubt that the conference will provide a new powerful impetus to the deepening and development of transformations in the Soviet Union on the basis of the further democratization of society and will reveal even more fully the powerful potential of socialism.

SFRY Parts Replace 'Defective' Soviet Items

PM191753 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent N. Krivomazov and TASS correspondent Yu. Khots under the "Radical Reform Day by Day" rubric: "Switch...Engaged"]

[Excerpt] The year started badly—there was nothing with which to pay the wages. Not, however, because there had been a false start to the radical reform but entirely because of lack of discipline on the part of subcontractors: Belaya Tserkov's "Elektrokondensator" plant had supplied the Minusinsk electrical equipment complex with ceramic insulators, almost two-thirds of which were defective.

Usually in such cases the director, driven to despair, submits a humble petition to the ministry requesting urgent financial assistance. Minusinsk was no exception here. "We need 1 million rubles" read the telegram sent to the USSR Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, and it seemed that free credit would help initially... But later?

Director V. Shapovalov speaks:

"We decided to exercise our right under the Law on the State Enterprise to enter an outside market. The Yugoslav firm 'Energoinvest' had long shown an interest in our high-voltage vacuum switches. Its representatives visited us in Minusinsk. When it became clear last December that we would not meet the plan, we decided to speed up the talks and go to Yugoslavia ourselves to sign a contract for them to supply us with ceramic isolators so as to reduce our dependence on Soviet suppliers." [passage omitted]

Briefs

New Oil-Producing Town

A new town is going up in the heart of the Siberian taiga. The town called Kedrovyy, or cedar town, is to be the center of a new oil producing area in western Siberia. The first oil well was sunk amid the impenetrable forest in 1985. The deposit is expected to yield over 1 million tonnes of oil a year. [Text] [*Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 21 Feb 88 LD*]

Scientific

'Cosmos-1920,' 'Cosmos-1921' Launched 18-19 Feb

LD191423 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1403 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Feb (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1920, was launched in the Soviet Union on 18 February 1988.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus designed to continue research into the earth's natural resources in the interests of various branches of the national economy of the USSR, and of international cooperation.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: Initial period of revolution—88.8 minutes; apogee—268 km; perigee—193 km; orbital inclination—82.6 degrees.

Artificial earth satellite Cosmos-1921 was launched in the Soviet Union on 19 February.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus designed to continue space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution—90.4 minutes; apogee—408 km; perigee—215 km; orbital inclination—70.2 degrees.

The apparatus on board the satellites is working normally.

'Mir' Cosmonauts on Station Construction, Work

LD200038 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] The Mir orbital station is today completing its 2d year in space. It is carrying out its third long space expedition. Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are continuing their research work. The Mir is a new generation space vehicle capable of simultaneously receiving

several specialized space modules. During a communication session, our correspondent asked Titov and Manarov to speak about the new possibilities that the Mir station has opened to space exploration.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] This station is fairly different from the previous one. This station has been constructed on a module basis. It has been designed to work as the main base unit, and various purpose research modules are being docked to station ports; they operate according to their own programs. This makes it possible, without changing all the equipment, to replace its obsolete parts.

[Unidentified speaker] The module carries out all the tasks that have been assigned to it. There is enough work with the Kvant, indeed. More than 100 sessions with the Roentgen complex have been carried out. A series of observations with the Lazar telescope has also been carried out.

[Unidentified speaker] There are going to be new modules.

[Unidentified speaker] Our station is a kind of testing ground for trying out the decisions that will be taken later, when developing large orbital stations. Here we have a laboratory where many technical decisions are being tested. We think that in the future stations will be greater in dimension and with larger crews, preferably international ones which would work in the interests of the world. One would like the efficiency of scientific research at the station to be high and the results of research to be both scientifically and practically important. [end recording]

Space Walk Rehearsed

LD200033 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] The two Soviet cosmonauts aboard the Mir orbital complex have staged a rehearsal of their walk in raw space, planned for next week. Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov put on their space suits to check the life support sustems, TV cameras and communication devices. They arranged with ground control the details of the complex operation, in which the two cosmonauts will mount new solar battery panels powering the space complex.

22 Feb Activities Reported

LD220913 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] The crew of the Mir space scientific research complex has begun its 3d month of orbital flight. Today Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov will continue their preparations for going out into open space, which is planned for the end of February. Ahead lies work to install sections of an experimental solar battery on the outside of the station. The fuel and oxidant delivered by the Progress 34 vessel was used to top up the station's motor unit yesterday. Both cosmonauts are healthy and feel fine, the flight control center reports.

Military

Akhromeyev on Armed Forces Anniversary, History

PM211514 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Feb 88 pp 1-2

[Article by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, Armed Forces General Staff chief and USSR first deputy defense minister: "Watching Over Peace and Security"—boldface as published]

[Text] The Soviet Union's Armed Forces are 70 years old. Marking this date, the Soviet people, with love and respect, pay tribute to their defenders—the Soviet Army and Navy, which safeguard the peaceful labor and defend the socialist gains of their motherland and its allies. The peoples of the socialist countries and all the progressive public are marking the glorious anniversary along with the Soviet people. This is a recognition of the Soviet Armed Forces' international services, their contribution to the defeat of fascism, the prevention of a new war, and the strengthening of international security.

I.

Our Armed Forces were created by V.I. Lenin and the Communist Party to defend the achievements of Great October. The Red Guard detachments could not defend the revolution in the civil war which was started against the Land of the Soviets in 1918. The armed aggression of the combined forces of interventionists from 14 states and the internal counterrevolution could only be opposed by a mass regular army of the new type, organized on class principles, with a strong proletarian nucleus, an efficient organization of troops, and an integrated system of staffing and centralized control. Through the efforts of the Bolshevik party, such an army was created. In its very first battles with the enemies of the Land of the Soviets it demonstrated high moral and combat qualities.

But international imperialism was launching new armed adventures against the Land of October. Attempts to test our strength were undertaken repeatedly in the twenties and thirties. The enemy was duly rebuffed every time.

The most severe test for the Soviet people and their Armed Forces was the Great Patriotic War unleashed against us by Hitlerite fascism. By June 1941 the Hitlerite aggressors had seized the greater part of Europe. They switched the economy of Germany and the occupied countries onto a war footing, and by that time they possessed a military-economic potential several times greater than ours. The Hitlerites mobilized their Armed Forces, deployed them strategically, and, already having 2 years' experience in waging war and in trusting available resources, inflicted a blow of tremendous force on

our troops. Because of a number of factors (objective and subjective) we suffered a series of major failures and defeats. The Red Army was forced to retreat deep inside the country, leaving our territory to the enemy.

The bloody fighting continued for 4 long years. By wearing out the enemy, the Soviet Armed Forces thwarted the Hitlerite "Blitzkrieg" plan. The people in the rear, experiencing the greatest difficulties and privations, supplied the Army and Navy with everything necessary for victory. In the battles of Moscow, Stalingrad, and Kursk, as well as in hundreds of other battles and engagements, the Red Army and Navy achieved a radical breakthrough in the war. Then, seizing the strategic initiative, they launched large-scale offensive operations, liberated their native land entirely from the occupiers, and, crushing fascism on its own territory, brought freedom to the peoples of many European countries. In September 1945, inflicting a crushing blow on the Japanese Kwantung Army, together with their allies they brought World War II to a victorious conclusion.

The superiority of the Soviet Armed Forces over the fascist Wehrmacht was manifested in major strategic operations and fierce battles and engagements. The decisive factors in our victory were the socialist social system and the USSR's peoples friendship and the Communist Party's leadership in the struggle against fascism. In the Great Patriotic War, Soviet military art prevailed.

It is insulting to the Soviet people, to our Armed Forces, and to the war and labor veterans of those years to hear some people today, without taking account of the historical realities of the thirties and forties or the combination of political, economic, and military conditions, saying that our victory was achieved at the cost of such a quantity of blood that, in view of the enemy's considerably lower losses, it can hardly be considered a victory.... What is this? Ignorance or irresponsibility?

In the postwar years the Soviet Armed Forces, together with the Warsaw Pact states' armies, defend peace and socialism, protect our peoples' peaceful labor, and ensure the security of the socialist states.

During this time the threat of war has hung over the world more than once. Plans were drawn up for a nuclear attack aimed at putting an end to socialism and taking social revanche. Major political and military provocations were undertaken against the socialist countries. The NATO bloc encircled us with a network of military bases. War, however, was prevented.

By the efforts of the Communist Party and the intensive labor of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces, the necessary political, military-technical, and military measures were carried out to strengthen the country's defenses. In response to the formation of the NATO bloc, a system of collective defense of the Warsaw Pact states was composed. In the early seventies the Soviet Union resolved a historic task—equilibrium was achieved between the USSR and the United States in strategic nuclear arms, which foiled the reactionary circles' expectations of achieving military superiority.

II.

The present situation in the world, the development of science, and the creation of modern technologies and, on this basis, new arms systems, are causing profound changes in the sphere of international relations. Objective processes are leading to a situation in which our complex and multifaceted world is becoming increasingly interconnected and interdependent.

The realities of our day require a fundamentally new approach to political and economic relations between states. This applies first and foremost to questions of war and peace. Today it is objectively necessary to seek jointly to resolve the contradictory interests of different states and nations. The conclusion drawn by the 27th CPSU Congress is becoming increasingly obvious and indisputable—that the modern world is too fragile for wars and strong-arm politics, that today no state's security can be achieved solely by military-technical means, that in Soviet-U.S. relations security can only be mutual, and that on a global level it can only be universal. This assessment forms the basis of the new political thinking, which objectively considers the realities of the nuclear missile age.

The Soviet Union takes this into account and constructs its foreign and defense policy accordingly. In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum M.S. Gorbachev stressed: "We have counterposed to the militarist doctrine on which the policy of strength is based, the concept of 'balance of interests' and mutual equal security." The new political thinking is being embodied in concrete steps and actions. The CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government have put forward a range of major peace initiatives in the form of a program for creating a comprehensive system of international security. They have elaborated a concrete plan for nuclear disarmament by the end of the present millenium.

Only very recently our proposals seemed unrealistic to many people. But life confirms their practicability. The new political thinking is becoming a reality and is beginning to make its way in international affairs. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington was historic.

The treaty became possible as a result of prolonged talks and mutual concessions, which is normal at talks. It was important for these concessions to be mutual and to be achieved on the basis of equality. The treaty's implementation will increase the level of security and lessen in practice the danger of war for all countries. It has created the preconditions for the attainment of other, more

major accords, including accords on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, the complete elimination of chemical weapons, and the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

This prospect does not suit everyone. It is opposed by reactionary, militarist forces which pin their future on the arms race. In certain circles in the United States and certain European NATO countries voices can be heard calling for a halt, for no further process along the path of arms reduction. Artificial obstacles are being placed in the path of the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and demands are being made for arms upgrading in Europe through the creation of new weapons systems and their deployment here.

The Soviet Union is resolutely opposed to all "arms upgrading." It intends firmly and consistently to implement a course of lowering the level of military confrontation.

At the same time the world situation is at present such that appropriate measures must be taken to reliably ensure the country's security. **In maintaining its defenses at the necessary level, the Soviet Union proceeds on the basis that imperialism remains the main source of the danger of war in present-day conditions.** Influential forces in power in a number of imperialist states still pursue a policy of confrontation with socialism. While making certain agreements, the United States and its allies still continue to implement their military-technical programs. They are pushing these programs first and foremost with regard to new types of strategic offensive arms and high-accuracy combat systems of conventional arms. They concentrate particular efforts on large-scale research in the sphere of creating weapons based on new physical principles. They are continuing to work on the creation of a multitiered system of ABM defense of the country and space strike arms under the SDI program.

"While the danger of war persists, while social revanche remains the pivot of the West's strategy and militarist programs, we will continue," M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, notes, "to do everything necessary to maintain our defense might at a level such as to preclude the military superiority of imperialism over socialism."

The tasks of strengthening defenses and improving the Armed Forces are today being resolved in accordance with the new political thinking, which has objectively led to the elaboration of a contemporary Soviet military doctrine. This doctrine determines the activity of the political and military leadership in resolving the two main tasks—preventing war and ensuring the reliable defense of socialism against possible imperialist aggression. This is the first time the first of these tasks has become part of the content of our military doctrine. It goes without saying that even before, the struggle against war formed the basis of the defense activity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Then and now, this task was tackled by political means. But today in military strategy as well the struggle to prevent war has moved into the foreground and become decisive. The danger of the annihilation of mankind in a nuclear war has substantially changed the activity of the political and military leadership.

It should be noted that Soviet military doctrine, the national military doctrines of the other fraternal socialist countries, and the united military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states have **common political and military-technical foundations** and are based on the same fundamental principles.

In no circumstances will our countries begin a war, either nuclear or conventional, against any state or alliance of states in any part of the world, unless they themselves are the target of aggression. The Soviet Union will never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

But if aggression does occur, the USSR and the Soviet Armed Forces, together with the peoples and armies of the fraternal allied states, will deal the aggressor a crushing rebuff.

While the common military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states covers defense questions mainly in relation to Europe, Soviet military doctrine also takes into account a wider range of tasks associated with the existence of strategic nuclear arms belonging to the United States and the USSR and with the rebuffing of possible aggression not only in Europe, but also in the East and on certain other borders of our state. This gives rise to the great complexity, diversity, and interconnected nature of the defense problems we have to tackle, and to a tremendous responsibility for their correct resolution.

The main characteristic of Soviet military doctrine is its defensive thrust. Politically, this has always been the nature of our military doctrine, as noted above, from the very first days of the victory of Great October. But now its defensive thrust is also being further developed and clarified in the military-technical sphere.

The Soviet Union and its Armed Forces do all their work of improving defense capability to be ready to rebuff aggression from outside.

In light of imperialism's military preparations we are forced to reckon with the real possibility of an aggressor's launching either a nuclear or a conventional war against us, and to prepare accordingly to rebuff possible aggression. Here it is important to take into account in good time the nature of each type of war and the new features that arise in the conditions and methods of waging war. The catastrophic, possibly fatal consequences for all mankind of a world nuclear war are obvious to everyone. The imperialists also realize this. But they intend to keep nuclear weapons in their arsenals.

In our day, a war using only so-called conventional weapons is also becoming increasingly dangerous. Such a war, if imperialism tries to unleash it, will in reality be far from "conventional" as it has been in the past. The use of the new high-accuracy means of destruction, which possess heightened destructive potential, a great effective range, and speed of operation, the use of automated control systems, and the likelihood of the deliberate destruction of nuclear power facilities and chemically dangerous production units will give such a war a destructive character not only regarding armies and navies, but also to the peoples of all continents. It must also be taken into account that such a war could at any moment turn into a nuclear war.

In these conditions, reliably rebuffing aggression gives rise to the need for the corresponding development of the branches of the Armed Forces with a view to increasing their defense capability and constantly improving them. Imperialism's military preparations force our Armed Forces to have appropriate means of combat and to wage the struggle against possible aggression in the continental and ocean theaters of hostilities. The basis of our Armed Forces' combat might is the strategic nuclear forces. They are in constant readiness to inflict retaliatory strikes. At the same time forces and resources are deployed for rebuffing an aggressor's air attack in Europe, where we are threatened by a many millions strong grouping of NATO bloc troops equipped with modern combat hardware.

Unlike the development of U.S. strategic arms, which is based on the hope of achieving "indisputable military superiority," the building of the Soviet Union's strategic nuclear forces is implemented on the basis of the principle of maintaining military equilibrium. The conventional arms of the Warsaw Pact states' armies are created and developed on the basis of maintaining the necessary defense sufficiency.

In the conditions actually existing, defense sufficiency means our Army and Navy must possess a military potential sufficient to deter imperialism from unleashing aggression, ensure that they cannot be caught unaware, and, in the event of aggression, to reliably rebuff it. The limits of this potential are determined first and foremost not by us, but by imperialism's actual military preparations.

This is the aim of the Soviet Armed Forces' training and their military art. In the event of aggression, the main type of military operations by our Armed Forces will be defensive operations. But this defense will be active. If the aggression is stepped up and widened, retaliatory strikes will be made in light of the developing situation. The Army and Navy, in rebuffing an attack, will operate with the utmost resolve. The potential aggressor should know that.

At the same time, on a reciprocal basis, we are prepared to reduce the Armed Forces to a level such that nobody is capable of waging major offensive operations.

III.

The 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy is today being marked in an atmosphere of revolutionary reorganization of our society. Its renewal is taking place on the basis of restructuring, the democratization of public life, the establishment of social justice and glasnost, and the strengthening of organization and discipline. This is having a beneficial effect on all aspects of the Armed Forces' activity and promotes their qualitative improvement and the formation of high moral and combat qualities in the servicemen. At present, thanks to our people's heroic labor and the concern of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, the Soviet Army and Navy have up-to-date combat means for the fulfillment of the tasks entrusted to them.

In the Soviet Armed Forces, as in the country as a whole, a restructuring is currently in progress. It is aimed at further improving all the components of combat readiness and increasing the responsibility of military cadres at all levels. Particular attention is devoted to activating the human factor and strengthening discipline and the organization of army life strictly according to regulations.

For Army and Navy leadership personnel, the nucleus of the restructuring is the full implementation in practice of the defensive military doctrine adopted by our state, the guaranteeing of equilibrium with the United States in strategic arms, the implementation of the principle of military sufficiency in conventional arms, and the training of leadership cadres of the troops and naval forces in operations to rebuff aggression. Intensive combat training is in progress in the troops and the Navy.

Servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy, with their military labor, contribute to the cause of Communist building. Born in October and raised by the Communist Party, the USSR Armed Forces, together with the armies of the fraternal socialist countries, are a reliable bulwark of universal peace and the peoples' security.

Moscow City Reservists Hold First Meeting

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[Text] The military-patriotic upbringing of young people, assistance to servicemen in the reserves, and the immortalization of the memory of those who failed to return from the battlefield—these and other questions were discussed by the delegate-participants at the first Moscow gathering of reservists. At the gathering, it was decided to set up a Moscow City council of servicemen in the reserves of the USSR Armed Forces.